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EDUCATIONAL DEPENDENCY : AN INDIAN CASE STUDY
IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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BY

NEELU SANCHETI

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This thesis is dedicated to my Father who has been a constant source of inspiration, guidance and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

It is currently fashionable in Comparative Education to speak of educational dependency, cultural imperialism and neocolonialism as outcomes of American intervention in third world educational systems. Firstly, it is assumed in most analyses that once conditions of dependency have been created through the institutional transfer of models of higher education from the 'Centre' to the 'Periphery', the educational system of the latter is bound to remain perpetually under the domination of the former. Secondly, it is also assumed in the literature that peripheral elites accept eagerly and without question the institutional innovations being proposed by the metropolitan agencies. A third assumption is that metropolitan penetration induces within the peripheral institution structural distortions which are detrimental to independent institutional development.

This study examines these three assumptions in the Indian context with special reference to the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. This institution was established in the early 1960's in collaboration with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Over the last two decades, it has also received substantial funding from the Ford Foundation. The important question posed is whether the IIMC can be cited as a concrete example of educational dependency created through the transfer of the American business school model to India.

The thesis is divided into five parts:

Part I discusses the theoretical concerns of the thesis, clarifies the methodological approach and outlines a tentative theoretical framework

for investigating situations of educational dependency.

Part II attempts an analysis in historical perspective of the effectiveness of metropolitan penetration in the processes of policy formulation and adoption at the IIMC.

Part III deals with the complex interactions between the metropolitan agencies and Indian elite groups. Of special significance in this analysis is the importance placed on foreign training of Indian academics as an approach to creating a "homogenized" faculty outlook at the IIMC.

Part IV focuses on the consequences for the IIMC and analyses the extent to which they can be viewed as unfavourable outcomes of metropolitan penetration.

Part V demonstrates that the case-study of the IIMC calls into question the validity of important assumptions regarding the phenomenon of educational dependency in India.

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PART - I

Education and Development : Some Theoretical Considerations and Assumptions

An important corollary to political Independence in India, was a normative commitment to rapid socio-economic development¹. Comprehensive planning was accepted as the appropriate means for achieving this goal. Aspirations of national control and self-reliance were closely linked to the plans for achieving, greater economic growth and greater economic equity². The strategy of non-alignment in the sphere of foreign policy explicitly emphasized the unwillingness of the Indian political leadership to respond to the pressures of the superpowers³, and independent development was clearly accepted as a governing principle of national life.⁴

A concomitant feature of the new intellectual climate following political Independence, was a realization of the urgent need for the reorganization of higher education on a modern basis. The emphasis in this sphere was clearly to reduce dependence on foreign personnel through the training of a cadre of professional manpower, who could then take up the positions previously reserved for the foreign professionals. Stress on "indigenization" of professional manpower was reinforced by the identifiable need for a substantial body of trained personnel to implement the ambitious plans for large scale industrialisation,⁵ that were being chalked out in the five year plans.

As a prescribed solution to the perceived difficulty, it was recommended that certain institutions be established, which were equivalent in quality of training and standards to their counterparts in the advanced industrialised societies⁶. The hope was that these institutions would serve as models whose influence would filter down to other universities and departments. The rationale for this policy was that thereby a scientific basis would be created, which would enable India to develop the technological and economic engines of social change.⁷

The Indian Institutes of Management represent one such effort at institutional innovation. Soon after independence, it was clearly recognised by Indian planners that an important bottleneck to the realisation of the goal of planned development was the shortage of managerial expertise. The professional manpower available was seen as grossly inadequate to meet the identifiable need in the country⁸. An important step towards self-reliance⁹ in economic development was the training of such personnel. The first two¹⁰ decades of Indian Independence saw considerable efforts in this direction.

It was within this context that it was decided that two postgraduate institutions, based on the model of the American business schools of Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, respectively, be established. The Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, set up in 1962, thus represents one institutional solution to the normative prescription of¹¹ greater economic self-reliance in terms of supply of managerial expertise.

The assertion of this study is that while this particular institutional solution appeared to meet one aspect of the normative shift towards independent economic development i.e., to meet the shortage of trained managers, it did not in the very process of its creation, respond to the other dimension of goal, i.e., facilitate cultural and educational independence.

Generally stated, the problem with which this thesis is concerned, is the extent to which the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, in aspiring to meet the identified difficulty; i.e. shortage of managerial expertise, has created or reinforced dependency in educational and cultural terms on institutions of the West, in this case, the business school of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In other words, it is suggested that Indian planners displayed only a partial commitment to the goal of self-reliance by advocating institutional innovations like the IIM's which were closely emulative of the American business school. Had the goal of self-reliance been clearly articulated,¹² in its socio-cultural and educational connotations, perhaps the wholesale transfer of the American business school model would have been welcomed less enthusiastically by the Indian planners. How can this myopic perspective as the part of an otherwise stridently nationalistic political elite be explained ?

The aspirations of the Indian planners for Self-reliant development, the recognised need for managerial manpower and their deep faith in the instrumental value of formal education for achieving the goal, cannot be viewed in isolation from the dominant ideology of the era. Independent India's efforts at institution-building in higher education, of which the IIMCis a concrete example, was essentially based on a growing body of North American social science discourse broadly labelled as the Modernization paradigm. It was this discourse, with its deepseated conviction regarding the instrumental value of "professionalized" managerial inputs in fostering economic development, which provided the rationalizing ideology for the establishment of the Indian Institutes of Management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta on the American business school pattern. A brief discussion on the central assumptions of the Modernization paradigm will help to explain the apparently paradoxical stance adopted by the Indian political elite, in their clamour for self-reliance on one hand, and their enthusiastic acceptance of the transferred American business school model on the other.¹³

The Modernization Paradigm:

The Modernization school of development theories emerged in the post 1945 situation as Western Scholars turned their attention to the underdeveloped world. Classical models of economic development as put forth by Rostow,¹⁴ Hoselitz¹⁵ Eisenstadt¹⁶ continued to dominate the development thinking well into the sixties.

Expressing a strong belief in the evolutionary process, conventional theories of Modernization focused on two contrasting ideal-types, 'Modern' and 'Traditional',¹⁷ the first built around social change in the Western world and the second lumping together all the new nations. The assumption was, that all (third world societies) were alike, in that they were traditional, and that eventually they would pass through the same set of changes that had taken place in the West and become modern.¹⁸

A second important assumption underlying this approach was that development could take place only through fundamental changes in the endogenous value system of any given traditional society.¹⁹ A corollary to the assumption was the belief shared by all members of the modernization school that²⁰ there was a pressing need to "discover fundamental traits 'responsible for' capitalist industrialization, argue that they are universally necessary for 'modernization' per se and then examine how they can be diffused into contemporary Third World formations".²¹

Important differences did exist amongst the proponents of the modernization school. While "stages of growth" specialists like W.W. Rostow²² attempted to place all countries on a continuum between 'tradition' and 'modernity' and located their position on the basis of certain indices, later

day theorists like McClelland²³ and Hagen²⁴ offered psychological explanations for the lack of development in traditional societies. All theorists of the school remained united, however, in their conviction that,

Development as modernization was an essentially harmonious evolutionary process relying primarily on changes in the central value system of any particular society. Becoming modern involved first, the massive and fundamental resocialisation of the population and secondly, effective and efficient selection and selection and allocation of appropriately talented and trained manpower as is required by the current and future state of the modern sector of the developing economy 25

The modernization theorists placed great faith on the instrumental value of formal education in the process of economic development. Formal education, it was asserted, had a dual role to play in helping the poor countries overcome their backwardness.²⁶ While the proponents of the 'human capital'²⁷ perspective viewed education as an imperative in the process of human resource development,²⁸ other writers²⁹ identified the low level of educational development as the residual or "index" factor in the transition to modernity. Formal education, according to these writers, alone, could inculcate the appropriate attitudes and norms conducive to development.

The developmentalist ideologues were moreover, convinced that to be of any real value the educational system of the backward countries must draw inspiration primarily through exogenous stimuli, that is, the diffusion of modern values and institutions from the early modernizers. In their efforts to replicate the evolution of modern societies, it was considered crucial that the newly independent nations establish with the

technical expertise and financial aid of the developed countries institutions of higher education closely modelled on their counterparts in the West. It was argued, in the discourse, that through such efforts at "institution-building", the process of economic development could be greatly hastened³⁰ as the knowledge, skills and expertise already developed in the West could be made readily available to the developing societies, thus providing them with the 'missing' factor in development. Educational aid,³¹ which facilitated such institution-building efforts was viewed in the literature as "a form of philanthropy, a disinterested humanitarianism, the expression of a desire to help countries develop".³²

The close coincidence between the development strategy adopted in post-Independence India and the central tenets of the Modernization approach prescribed by North American social scientists is clear from the above discussion. Institutions like the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta can be viewed as a logical and important constituent of this development strategy, and the foreign aid and technical expertise provided by the Ford Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as a necessary "fillip" to development within this approach³³. While such a 'convergence' of perspective seems ironical in view of the Congress Party's commitment to socialistic goals,³⁴ it is perfectly consistent that the goal of cultural and educational independence would receive little attention in strategies for economic development or educational reform.³⁵

The modernization theories continued to dominate, and in fact, dictate development strategies in most 'developing' countries until the late sixties. So widespread was their acceptability that the very concept of Development was viewed as synonymous with modernization. Today, the

idea of development as aspiration, ideology and field of study has been accompanied by a major revision in the meaning and interpretation of the term.³⁶ This new conception of Development is distinguished from its previous interpretation as "Modernization" by a greatly increased emphasis on the twin issues of "Endogeneity" and "Equity".³⁷

The Dependency Paradigm

The quest for endogeneity in development has been derived from a devastating critique of the central tenets of the Modernization approach. Largely responsible for the confusion which assailed the modernization theories in the sixties was the growing credibility of an alternative explanatory framework for analysing underdevelopment in the Latin American countries. Popularised in the West under the label of "dependency theory" through the work of A.G. Frank and others, these theories stood in ideological, theoretical and analytical contrast to the developmentalist position.

The dependency theorists challenged the ethnocentric perspectives and ahistorical character of the developmentalist ideology. The force of the Dependency argument converged on the rejection of the Modernization theorists' theses about the "stages" of economic growth and modernization, their universal and evolutionary assumptions and typologies based on these assumptions. In brief, it was argued that "so-called modernization is non universalistic, non-ideological, transethnic and pan humanistic".³⁸ A brief discussion of the central propositions of the new paradigm will help to clarify the theoretical premises of the proposed study.

Dependency theorists rejected the ontogenetic perspective on underdevelopment reflected in the modernization paradigm. Underdevelopment,

according to these writers, was not a consequence of certain internal deficiencies endemic to traditional societies. By tracing their parentage to Lenin's theories of imperialism, dependency theorists attempted to complement the idea of imperialism by focusing on the consequences of a specific sub-set of the relations created by imperialism, those which tie peripheral countries to centre countries.³⁹

Underdevelopment, in the Latin American region, it was argued, was a consequence of and conditioned by Dependence on the Metropolitan Centre (the USA). The problematic of development/underdevelopment could best be historically located and theoretically explained in the context of the world capitalist economy. The appropriate unit of analysis was not the nation state. Thus, it was argued by a leading exponent,

"It is illegitimate to argue that underdevelopment is a stage in the evolution of a society both autonomous and economically, culturally and politically isolated. On the contrary we postulate that development and underdevelopment are the two faces of the same universal process..... and that its geographic expression is translated into two great polarisations : on the one hand the polarisation of the world between industrial, advanced, developed and metropolitan countries and underdeveloped, a backward, poor, peripheral and dependent countries; and on the other hand a polarisation within countries in terms of space backward, primitive marginal and dependent groups and activities." 40

Within the Latin American theories of dependency three broad strands can be distinguished.⁴¹ The 'marxist perspectives', popularised in the west by A.G. Frank, was taken up within Latin America by the CESO school in the writings of theorists like Dos Santos, Ruy Marini, Caputo and Pizarro. The continuation and deepening of the structuralist perspective, inherited from the ECLA school and the work of Raul Prebisch, can be found in the

writings of theorists such as Sunkel, Pinto, Villamil, Valenzuela etc. Sociologists such as Fernando Cardoso, Octavio Ianni, and Anibal Quijano are seen to straddle both the structuralist and the Marxist perspectives. Differences between the three traditions are clearest, according to O'Brien,⁴² when it comes to offering perspectives for political action, i.e., strategies for overcoming situations of dependency.

The Latin American contribution to dependency theories, while crucial in the theoretical development of the literature, was not conclusive to the discourse. Many of the basic propositions of these theories have been taken up by social scientists of diverse regional and theoretical backgrounds, and the cumulative literature now forms a definitive statement of attempts to identify a whole new paradigm of development.

It is argued that the "dependency paradigm" does not offer a homogenous and cohesive treatment, of the problematic of development/underdevelopment. In fact, the variety of viewpoints, diversity of scholars and their ideological parentage, the quantity as well as cultural specificity of the dependency literature makes it difficult for the investigator to present a coherent synthesis of its central arguments. What, however, distinguishes this tradition is the fact that dependency theory in general proposes, "a set of questions, a perspective on those questions and a concomitant conviction to knowledge about them".⁴³ It is the firm commitment to locating the problems of underdevelopment, in the wider context of the historical development of the World Capitalist Economy, which represents the common denominator of dependency analyses and makes feasible an attempt, albeit crude, to abstract from the literature some organizing concepts and central hypotheses.

The core argument of the dependency school can be briefly stated as follows :

The development by replication strategy, as formulated by the modernization theorists would, it was claimed, lead to an increased polarisation between core and periphery societies. The penetration of capital and technology from 'Centre' to the 'Periphery' served only to create an enclave of modernization within the periphery which resulted in the reinforced alienation of the elites from the masses both in terms of economic power and ideological orientation. The benefits of such development accrued largely to the foreign capitalists and their compradorized counterparts in the dependent societies and served to further perpetuate the domination of the international capitalist system,⁴⁴ The dependency syndrome is not limited to economic linkages only, but involves a wide range of contacts in the political, social, cultural and educational spheres. In the process of cultural dependency no direct domination is necessary, as long as the hegemonic elites perceive an identity of interest with the dominant classes in the Centre.⁴⁵

Four propositions central to the dependency perspective can be abstracted from the summary statement offered above.⁴⁶

Firstly, in contrast to the developmentalist view, which claimed that "process of economic penetration which have characterised both the colonial and neocolonial periods, are essential prerequisites for modernization",⁴⁷ dependency theorists view with extreme suspicion any form of metropolitan penetration. Metropolitan penetration, it is argued, whether in the areas of "private direct investment, trade, debt arms

transfer and higher education",⁴⁸ to name but a few, leads to inevitable dependency in peripheral society.

The concept of penetration is crucial to a dependency analysis, and refers to the mechanisms, economic or cultural, by which the metropolitan centres maintain their links with the peripheral societies. An important concern of dependency theorists are thus, the external linkages which tie the peripheral society to the Centre. It is asserted, that the degree of dependency in a particular society is causally linked to the strength of its links with the metropole. Thus, the stronger the links between the metropolitan and peripheral society, the closer is the integration of the peripheral society into the international capitalist system, and in turn into a condition of dependence.⁴⁹

A second proposition central to the dependency paradigm is that the process of penetration does not operate in a vacuum, i.e., no metropolitan agency can of its own exercise power over the peripheral societies. "The precondition of penetration is a certain harmony of interests between the international centres of the penetrating and the penetrated societies; the penetrating centre requires a bridgehead in the other society".⁵⁰

Thus a fundamental dimension of dependency situation is the creation and reinforcement of the Comprador class in the peripheral society. As pointed out by Cardoso,

"There is no such thing as a metaphysical relation of dependency between one nation and another. Such relations are made concrete possibilities through the existence of a network of interests which link certain social groups to other social groups certain social classes to other social classes".

The process through which this 'symbiotic' relationship between the dominant and dependent elite is fostered has been coined as the process of compradorization.⁵¹

A third important proposition of the dependency thesis, is that external links, however close and concentrated, can only be causally related to the "conditioning situation"⁵² of dependency, if they exercise a determining influence over the internal social structure of the peripheral societies. A particular concern of the dependency theorists, are thus,

the economic, social and political transformations, distortions of peripheral societies that result from or are reflected in the incorporation of those societies into the global capitalist system. ⁵³

Thus, along with illuminating external linkages and relationships between societies at the core and periphery and the instrumental role of coopted elites in enabling the 'dependency' situation, the dependency theorists have focused on certain consequences of metropolitan penetration. The outcome of Metropolitan Penetration, it is claimed ~~is~~ not arrested development in the periphery, as claimed by the underdevelopment theorists.⁵⁴ Rather, the processes of penetration and dependency promote, and are promoted by a kind of dependent growth which is marked by its own internal contradictions as well as structural distortions.⁵⁵

These consequences or limitations have been conceptualized in the dependency literature as 'Enclave modernization' or 'Encapsulation',

'Marginalization' and 'Fragmentation' and a 'Low developmental orientation'.

Firstly, it is asserted, there occurs uneven development⁵⁶ in the peripheral system, resulting in advanced growth for one sector or group at the cost of continued impoverishment for the rest.

In other words, what occurs as a result of metropolitan penetration, is the formation of certain enclaves of modernization within the peripheral society, which are closely integrated but subordinate to the centre society. These enclaves are more developed (than the rest of the peripheral society) and have features which are similar to those present in the developed societies. However, these enclaves represent "encapsulated" development in that they exist, as a consequence of their dependency on the centre model, in relative insulation from the rest of the peripheral society, thereby aggravating already existing inequalities within the system.

An examination of the internal and international processes of polarisation suggests a further outcome of metropolitan penetration. Not only, according to the dependency theorists, must there be,

"a close correlation and connection between the extension of the DC's into the UDC's and the developed, modern and advanced activities, social groups and regions of these countries,"⁵⁷

but also the concomitant process of Marginalization or Exclusion of various groups (and Organizations) can be observed. The marginalized sector of the peripheral society includes,

"a national complement of activities, social groups and regions, partially or totally excluded from the nationally developed part of the global system and without any links with similar activities, groups and regions of other countries".⁵⁸

Marginalization or exclusion, of impoverished groups, regions and activities, is thus seen as an important, almost inevitable outcome of metropolitan penetration.

Apart from favouring the few and marginalizing the rest, metropolitan penetration, is also seen by dependency theorists, as inducing internal Structural Fragmentation within the peripheral society. In essence, fragmentation implies disarticulation or lack of integration within the society. According to Galtung, Fragmentation consists partly in keeping periphery societies apart from each other, partly in keeping peripheries in the centre and in the periphery apart from each other by making the former into allies with the two centres in the exploitation of the latter.⁵⁹

Fragmentation within the periphery can take a variety of forms. An important means through which this outcome is induced, according to Galtung, is through the excessive levels of specialization encouraged by Western technology. Even within restricted Sectors of the peripheral society, itself, by disallowing a holistic perspective in the diagnosis and solution of problems of development, disarticulation takes place between different groups, leading to internal conflict and loss of unity.

Furthermore, it is claimed by dependency theorists, that as a result of the efficacy of the processes of penetration and the structural limitations thereby introduced into the peripheral society, the form of growth (dependent development) that takes place is severely constrained.

Such growth as is allowed to take place in the LDC's is marked by a Low developmental orientation. Because, growth in the enclave sector is externally directed and structured to meet the needs of the centre society,

"There is, usually very little adaptation of the imported technology to the specific needs of the UDC's especially their more backward sectors.

There is thus a growing gap between the favourably placed enclave and the other sectors of the UDC's." 60

A fourth dimension of the dependency argument, relates to the wider ramification of the "dependency syndrome" in the political, military, cultural, communications and educational spheres. In connexion with cultural dependency, it has been suggested by Galtung, that the 'Centre' countries' superiority in the field of information technology functions as an adjunct to their economic and political imperialism and sometimes may initiate it.⁶¹ Formal education, based on the metropolitan model is viewed as a "trojan horse",⁶² by means of which foreign values, norms, technology and orientations are introduced into the dependent society. It has been further suggested,

The point is not merely that a structure is imposed upon a society, that there is a teacher-learner, sender-receiver relationship. The point is also that the Periphery is deprived of the possibility of developing further on its own premises, due to its own internal contradictions. It becomes deprived of the motor of its dynamism just as it is under economic imperialism, when it can no longer use the production factors for its own needs. It will either develop as a reflection of, an imitation of, or a reaction to the dynamism of the social, imperialist Centre and neither form is genuine autonomous development. 63

Apart from notable exceptions, it is important to recognise that within the mainstream dependency tradition, the cultural aspects of dependence have received

small attention in comparison with the economic factors in the effort to produce theoretical frameworks for the analysis of situations of dependency. On occasions when the phenomenon of cultural dependency has been referred to, the educational system is only cited as one area of foreign influence within the broader perspective of other cultural artefacts like films, books, fashions, music etc.⁶⁴

On the other hand, there is, within the discipline of Comparative Education, a burgeoning literature which attempts to utilize the dependency framework for analysing the extension of bourgeois education to economically and politically dependent societies. Key concepts used in the literature are Cultural Imperialism, Educational Dependency and Neocolonialism in Education.⁶⁵ While individual formulations vary, the central argument of these writers has been appropriately summarized by Ball.

Education is viewed not as a neutral process of value-transformation and the dissemination of Western functional rationality but as a form of economic and political control. It is seen to produce and reproduce a Western educated indigenous elite and to incorporate indigenous peoples into the world market, producing these conceptions of work and patterns of consumption which are concomitant with the social and economic imperatives of the world capitalist order. ⁶⁶

Furthermore, it has been argued, the tendency to imitate the education system of developed countries, which pervades the education policy and system of underdeveloped countries is severely damaging to their economic development. It is the result of an attempt to meet the demands of a limited modern sector which owes its origins and expansion to the developed countries. By imitating these highly industrialised countries and pursuing an import substituting industrialisation policy, the developing

nations have imported an education which is oriented towards the needs of the so-called modern sector, and neglects the needs of the majority of the population. Moreover as pointed out by Dale, the metropolitan agencies do not need to compel,

Defenseless poor countries to adopt in toto Western models of schooling. The point is rather that they use their undoubted power in the support of a model of economic growth and national development, and of education's place in it, whose desirable outcome is compatibility with Western capitalism. This is important because capital cannot of its own devices secure either compatibility i.e. active rather than passive acceptance of absorption into the capitalist world economy - or effective continuity of that absorption. 67

Educational aid, within this perspective, is seen as essentially functional to the process of peripheralization. The central purpose of aid, according to Carnoy, is "to influence educational change in certain directions consistent with the interests of the transnational bourgeoisies of the DC's and the bourgeoisies of the dependent countries themselves".⁶⁸

In the Indian situation, the dependency framework helps to illuminate important issues of cultural and educational dependency previously ignored in the rush for Modernization.

Firstly, it calls into question the "altruistic" motives and points out the vested interests of donor agencies like the Ford Foundation in promoting the transfer of American ideas and institutions to Indian education, thereby creating conditions of educational dependency. The dependency perspective also draws attention to the instrumental role played by India's "modernizing elite" in directing the style of educational reform. It points out that provisions, for education in underdeveloped countries are derived not from econometric models or input output matrices

but from the demands of the political and social elites, in collaboration with their counterparts in the centre. Finally, the dependency framework helps to illuminate the consequences of the elitist and technocratic educational policy adopted in post-Independence India. This policy finds expression in the concentration on a fairly limited number of foreign aid sponsored higher education institutions, which replicate within the Indian setting, "the organizational patterns, professional activities and criteria of academic excellence which prevailed in the donor country",⁶⁹ at the cost of mass based education. Such transferred institutions are seen as being responsible for perpetuating a dependent and inequalitarian educational structure not commensurate with the socio-economic needs of the nation.

In adopting such a policy, it is argued, very little thought has gone into the question whether the kind of education that is being provided is the kind that will promote economic development in the right manner, and whether it benefits only a small group of people or is equitably available to all stratas of society.

Within the dependency perspective, the "professionalized management movement", in India as institutionalized in the planning and establishment of the IIM's is viewed as inimical to self-reliant development. The major argument is that being based on the transplantation of the "already developed technology including the non-separable managerial tools and techniques either by emulation or by imposition into the developing society",....."the institution of management carries within it the very real danger of aggravating underdevelopment in a so-called developing society".⁷⁰

The preceding analysis has attempted to outline the Central tenets of both the Modernization and Dependency paradigms of development. It is clear, from the discussion, that while the developmentalist goals and assumptions of the Modernization school provided the rationalizing ideology for the establishment of the Indian Institutes of Management on the American business school model, the recognition of the dysfunctionality of such institutional innovations in enabling self-reliant development has been inspired by the critical analysis of underdevelopment offered by the dependency theorists. Given the problematic of the study; i.e., an exploratory analysis into the phenomenon of the educational dependency as provoked in the Indian case through the replication of the American business school model, It is clear that the dependency perspective offers useful analytical insights. Even so, it is important to recognize that the heuristic value of the dependency perspective is seriously constrained due to certain theoretical and methodological limitations.

A Theoretical Impasse ?

Dependency theories, like their predecessors of the Modernization perspective, have come under sharp criticism in recent years. Many of the critiques have come from theorists originally sympathetic to the dependency thesis, and can be considered of equal importance as the actual theoretical contributions in the dependency literature.⁷¹

While the Frankian versions of dependency theory have been attacked for turning modernization on its head, i.e., simply transforming mechanisms of diffusion into mechanisms of Imperialism,⁷² the structuralist versions have been found guilty of incorporating the same dualisms, development-underdevelopment Centre-Periphery for which the developmentalist model

with its base in the tradition-modernity dichotomy was criticised.⁷³ Cardoso's model has come under attack for failing to incorporate in an explicit way class-analysis into its theorising.⁷⁴ However, the major reason for which dependency theory has let itself into a cul de sac is its failure to provide alternative solutions, or strategies to overcome dependency.⁷⁵

Even within the dependency school itself, there have arisen serious methodological controversies between different groups of writers. On the one hand, are the Latin American based writers who provided the original interpretation of the dependency thesis, and, on the other hand, are a group of North American social Scientists who have attempted to test dependency theory with the help of empirical research techniques.⁷⁶ While the former group have placed "primary emphasis on concrete analysis", and detailed historical, descriptive, contextually bound knowledge claims about processes and conditions of the structural transformation of peripheral capitalist states",⁷⁷ the latter have, on the whole, worked within the tradition of "rigorous empiricism" which has led them towards "attempts to increase the analytical scope and precise empirical content of the term dependence by developing measurement models for it"⁷⁸

Both groups of writers have been attacked for flaws in their analytical mode, The 'dependencia' theorists have come under strenuous criticism for the ambiguity in⁷⁹ their analysis and lack of rigour in their conceptual formulation.⁸⁰ The major thrust of this attack has been well expressed by Phillip J.O'Brien,

to a social scientist brought up in the dominant positivist hypothetico-deductive methodology, theories of dependency are seen at best as trivial or irrelevant and at worst as political slogans wrapped up as theory. ⁸¹

The North American efforts have also come under strong attack, not least from the dependency theorists themselves. Empiricist techniques, it was claimed, reduced the sensitivity of dependency analysis as a form of historical enquiry rooted in Concrete situations of underdevelopment by transforming its conceptual apparatus into "operational dimensions" which by definition, are univocal but static"⁸². Moreover, the extent to which quantification of the dependency syndrome was quantifiable was put into serious doubt. There exists then an escalating controversy between,

positivists arguing that if dependency theory is not testable, it is worthless (at least as theory) and dependency theorists retorting that theory testing is not limited to quantitative statistical assessments and that ideas are also confirmed or disconfirmed by the success or failure of political practice. 83

This dispute poses a serious obstacle to contemporary attempts at theory construction of dependency. There is an important need to create a 'dialogue' between the two methodologically opposed groups. Only in that event can the present impasse be overcome.

The escape from the theoretical cul de sac in which the dependency perspectives are trapped can only be achieved through the adoption of other formulations. This is not suggest, however, that all of the insights provided from the perspective are to be discarded. Rather, it is argued, following Palma,⁸⁴ that there is not a great deal to be gained from the pursuit of further macro-level dependency analyses either of the past or of the present. The formalized nature of grand attempts at theory construction has, it is suggested, inhibited analysis of specific historical situations. There is clearly a need to transcend the "mechanical deterministic model of antecedent causation and inert consequences".⁸⁵ In Palma's words,

What would be needed therefore is the concrete forms in which dependent relationships develop; i.e., to say, the specific forms in which the economies and politics of Latin America are articulated with those of the advanced nations. 86

In order to refine the theoretical precision of dependency analyses in the face of the above critique, what would be required is an emphasis on case-studies; the need at the moment is for 'analytic' rather than 'synthetic' work. Justification for this approach is found in Seers' contention that

Theories however to be relevant will inevitably embody empirical content, and this had better be made explicit and verified, objectively case studies rather than simply intuitively assumed. 87

Even within the specialist literature in Education, it has been noted, that the advance at the level of theoretical generalization and provision of conceptual frameworks for analysis of cultural and educational dependency has been inadequate. Similar to the developments in the social science literature, there is, in the educational field, a dearth of empirical studies which can help to substantiate, refute or further develop the embryonic theoretical formulations already present in the literature.

Given present difficulties in the dependency debates (both in the Social Sciences and Education) the present need is for the analysis of specific situations (of dependency) in concrete terms; i.e., to concentrate on case studies of dependency within specific historical and social situations. In the field of education, this highlights the need for detailed analyses of specific technical assistance projects which have attempted institutional transfer of higher education models from the 'Centre' to the 'Periphery'. The Indian Institute of Management Calcutta represents one such effort at institutional transfer.

Methodological Issues

Before such a study can be undertaken, two difficulties remain to be resolved. The methodological guidelines of the study require clarification and there is ^{need} to construct an appropriate conceptual framework. The Holmesian Problem (solving) approach is seen as an important supplement to dependency theory assertions in the field of methodology, and helps to facilitate analysis of specific situations of dependency.

The point has been made above that the methodological usefulness of propositions advanced by the dependency theorists has been considerably reduced by the ongoing controversy between the empiricist school of North American scientists and the historicist approach of the Latin American social scientists.

The methodological task facing the researcher is the outlining of a conceptual framework which is sufficiently clear to avoid the major criticism of ambiguity as faced by the Latin American school of dependency theorists and which avoids as well ~~as~~ the mechanico formal approach of quantifying hypotheses into mathematical formulations as attempted by the North American social scientists. There is then, in this study, an attempt to draw a middle line between the 'rigorous' and often trivial approach of the dominant positivistic social science tradition with its urge to quantify as closely as possible on one hand, and the ambiguity and historicism of the dependency theorists. The point is well made by Seers,

The exemption properly claimed from mathematical formulation because of the qualitative and complex nature of the theory, reflecting the real world is often taken as a licence to make speculative generalisations without any empirical base. 'Rigour' truly understood does not require the application of mathematics where it is inappropriate. Quite the contrary, but it does

demand a degree of care in formulating proposals as precisely as possible. 88

It is in this context that the problem-solving approach developed by Holmes is found useful. Relative emphasis on quantification of data has been an important point of debate in the specialist literature on Comparative Education. An important innovation sponsored in the late sixties by Noah and Eckstein⁸⁹ was to give major emphasis to developing more satisfactory invariant reference points or universal categories, in order to test the variables among different socio-cultural settings. For them, there is constant inducement to construct scales for ranking phenomena according to the extent to which they are present in a statement of presumed relationship.⁹⁰ Contrariwise, Holmes, while accepting the importance of quantification of data and the establishment of neutral models, as well as the occasional need for accepting the use of techniques like regression analysis to identify unique features of an educational system, remains sceptical about the use of such concepts when initial conditions and specific concepts have to be considered. He emphasized, that the general model on which correlation studies are based may fail to take into account unexplained variables dependent on non-empirical, non-quantitative techniques.⁹¹ Thus an important contribution of the Holmesian problem (solving) approach is that it makes it possible for the investigator to avoid the operationalism favoured by Noah and Eckstein as well as other empiricists already cited, on the grounds that such an approach serves often to disguise the active conceptual element by burying it in the defining indicators itself.⁹²

Another important way in which the adoption of the problem approach is welcomed is in that it helps to rationalize the ideological component

of the dependency analyses. Propositions derived from the dependency literature are found valuable in this study for their explanatory power and it is to this extent that they are adopted. To do so, in a methodologically legitimate way, means, that there is need to seek justification in the Popperian notion of approximation to truth rather than statement of truth.

The value of the Holmesian approach lies in that the combination of pragmatism and hypothetico-deduction favoured by Holmes is anti-historicist in character. Final truth and unconditional laws of enquiry are not the object of enquiry. For Holmes, in the words of Popper, "the criterion of the scientific status of a theory is its falsifiability or refutability or testability"⁹³ It is this conception which underpins the exploratory nature of this study. The important methodological assumption is that it is possible to assess and falsify propositions by confronting them with concrete evidence. The aim is refutation of generalized assertions, rather than verification.

Based on the above arguments, it is suggested that the problem approach as developed by Holmes is a help rather than a replacement to dependency theories. Not only does it avoid the dogmatism inherent in the Latin American approach but by asking questions about the nature and practice of phenomena such as cultural domination rather than preempting a moralistic or rhetorical point of view, it enables the investigator to discover in a relatively unfettered way the specific outcomes of a set of innovations induced through technical assistance, given the economic, political, social and educational uniqueness of the context into which these innovations are introduced.

The Conceptual Framework

The decision to concentrate on a case-study rather than a general analysis does not imply an atheoretical position. While the Holmesian problem-(Solving) approach offers important methodological guidelines, the theoretical difficulty of constructing an appropriate conceptual framework remains. The propositions derived from literature on imperialism and dependency are viewed as vital for the development of an adequate conceptual frame-work for the study.

In the previous discussion, of the dependency paradigm, certain key concepts and propositional statements central to the dependency discourse have been identified.⁹⁴ It is now proposed, that these organizing concepts and central propositions be used for outlining a tentative theoretical framework within which the "dependent" Indian institutional innovation can be closely examined. Thus, an analogous perspective⁹⁵ is adopted, within which, central assertions of the dependency thesis will be tested against a "concrete situation" of educational dependency.

A general statement of the educational dependency thesis as proposed within this framework can read as follows :

(a) The Penetration of metropolitan agencies in the educational system of a 'dependent society' through technical assistance and foreign aid is geared towards replicating the institutional structures of their own society. Peripheral institutions created as a result of educational transfer, are assumed to be inextricably linked to the metropolitan parent institution and destined to interact with them in a subordinate and dependent relationship.⁹⁶

(b) Metropolitan penetration requires, for its successful operation, the Compradorization of certain elite groups within the peripheral societies, who consequently become even more 'dependent' on their metropolitan counterparts, thereby satisfying the interests of the international capitalist class. Given the 'harmony of interest'⁹⁷ between the metropolitan and peripheral elite, it is assumed that the peripheral elite accept eagerly and without question institutional innovations being proposed by the metropolitan agencies. In the case of educational transfer, the academic community in the peripheral institution, is often claimed to constitute an important part of this comprador class.⁹⁸

(c) The transfer of educational practices, is damaging to the educational systems of the host country in the same way as transfer of foreign capital and technology is responsible for the Structural distortion of the economic systems of the dependent society.⁹⁹ The structural limitations introduced as a consequence of metropolitan penetration are viewed as inhibiting the peripheral institution's independent development. The outcomes of Encapsulation, Marginalization, Low developmental orientation and Fragmentation represent the specific forms in which these limitations are manifest within the peripheral institution. The cumulative outcome of these specific structural limitations, is the "subsidiarization" of the peripheral institution in a way as to inhibit the development of endogenous and relevant research capabilities within peripheral institution of higher education.¹⁰⁰

The following parts will attempt to test the validity of each of these three propositions in the specific context of the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, with the help of available documentary and empirical

evidence. The organizing question for the thesis is whether the IIMC innovation in Indian higher education can be viewed as a concrete example of educational dependency, given metropolitan intervention in the processes of its planning and establishment. It is reiterated at the outset that the study is essentially exploratory in character, with the methodological emphasis (following Holmes) being on analytical insights aimed at refutation rather than verification of popular assumptions regarding the phenomenon of educational dependency.

PART - II

Metropolitan Penetration as a process of Policy Formulation and Adoption

INTRODUCTION

A Central proposition of the dependency paradigm has been the identification of a causal relationship between the processes of Metropolitan penetration and the "conditioning situation"¹ of dependency within a given peripheral society. The phenomenon of Penetration can be identified as a channel linking Core and Periphery. The structural basis of the relationship is located in the power exercised by the metropolitan agencies in determining the future course of events in the periphery. Penetration is defined in this interpretation as the "Direct or indirect participation of ^{outsiders in the distribution of} values, and hence the external control of the development processes in whole or partial sectors of the economy".²

Analogously, in analyses of educational dependency, it is asserted that similar causal linkages operate in a more restricted manner within the educational system, through the auspices of educational aid and technical assistance. It is argued in the discourse that such penetration by the metropolitan agencies, i.e., donor agencies and "foreign experts", is most explicit in a situation of institutional transfer, when these two channels of penetration are brought together in a collaborative relationship, to set up educational infrastructures within the periphery aimed at replicating prestigious institutions of the donor country.³ Furthermore, it is asserted, that once conditions of dependency have been created or reinforced as a result of transfer of metropolitan models of higher education, the peripheral institutions are doomed to "remain constantly in the sphere of influence and under the domination of the former".⁴

The investigator will attempt, in this part of the study, to test, and if possible to refute these assertions in the light of historical evidence related to the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. For this purpose, it is important to reformulate the central issues raised by writers of the dependency orientation, into specific questions as applicable to the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. These questions may be stated as follows :

Firstly, to what extent have the 'outsiders' (in this case, the Ford Foundation and the MIT technical assistants) participated both 'directly' and 'indirectly' in the "decision-making processes" at the IIMC ? Secondly, has this participation of the outsiders, helped to mould the "value system" (cf. Priorities, aims and objectives) of the IIMC. Thirdly, if it is assumed that metropolitan agency participation in these spheres of institutional activity has been formative, can it be realistically asserted on the basis of documentary and empirical evidence, that metropolitan influence has, in effect, led to "external control" over whole or partial sectors of the institution. In other words, does metropolitan penetration inevitably lead to "external control" and thereby perpetual dependency in the peripheral institution ?

The Holmesian approach offers important guidelines, in facilitating a rigorous response to the substantive questions posed. A central problematic identified above, relates to metropolitan agency participation in the decision-making processes of the institution. The Holmesian approach helps to clarify the issue by differentiating between different processes involved in decision making. For Holmes, "decision making" in institutions involves three different processes, i.e., Policy Formulation,

Policy Adoption and Policy Implementation⁵. Each of these processes would, according to Holmes, involve a different group of actors and a different level of decision making.⁶ External agencies, therefore, would not be able to influence each of these processes with the same effectiveness. Given that the degree of influence of the outsiders would vary at different levels, so would the extent of subsequent dependency. It would not be in contradiction with Holmes's general position, to predict that Metropolitan influence is likely to be more effective at the level of policy formulation and adoption, rather than implementation. The Holmesian approach, thus helps to question the determinism inherent in the assertions of dependency theorists, which claim an inevitable causal linkage between metropolitan penetration and subsequent educational dependency.

A second question posed relates to metropolitan agency influence over the "distribution of values" at the IIMC. Values, it is asserted, find articulation in the stated priorities, aims and objectives of a given institution. Therefore, an important way, in which metropolitan penetration at this normative level, can be analysed is through a close analysis of the ways in which the metropolitan agencies attempted to prescribe the priorities, aims and objectives of the IIMC, and the extent to which these prescriptions were officially adopted. Such an analysis is facilitated through the use of the Holmes' IBE taxonomy which includes "General Aims" as an important category of analysis.⁷

Moreover, while the dependency formulation of Penetration is valuable for its explanatory value, it is difficult to operationalize the concept in a way in which the diffuse mechanisms through which it operates can be identified and their impact on the host society analysed. Categories are required for the selection of data, which makes explicit the mechanisms by

which the metropolitan agencies attempted to influence the formulation and adoption of policies at the institutional level. The Holmesian IBE taxonomy, once again, helps to facilitate such an analysis. Identified categories within this taxonomy, include along with General Aims, Administration, Finance and Structure and Organisation.⁸

The following sections of this part of the study will be organised around the major components of the IBE taxonomy, including General aims, Administration, Finance, Structure and Organisation. The last category in the taxonomy includes a discussion of Admission procedures, Academic Activities including content, pedagogy & methods of evaluation.

However, emphasis, in this study will be restricted to the ways in which the process of penetration have affected the different institutional aspects of the IIMC, rather than on a descriptive analysis of the general functioning of the Institute. The discussion of the various institutional aspects will focus, thus, on points of influence in the transfer process.

Moreover, given the distinction drawn by Holmes between the processes of policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation, attention will largely be directed in the following analysis, to the first two processes, which are perceived as being more directly vulnerable to the influence of metropolitan agencies. An analysis of the defacto effectiveness of metropolitan penetration as demonstrated in the process of policy implementation will be taken up in greater detail in Part III of the study.

Finally, it is considered important to outline a time-frame for the study of the IIMC which was established in 1962. It is possible to distinguish three phases in the historical development of the Institute. The Planning and

Collaboration Phase (1957 onwards) can be viewed as the period when metropolitan agency participation was most direct in the planning and establishment of the IIMC. Soon after the initial period of active collaboration, (1967 onwards) the IIMC made a definitive shift towards Independence which involved strategic changes in the institution's relationship with its metropolitan sponsors. This phase then represents an Intermediate Phase in the life of the institution. The Recent Phase (1980 onwards) is important not only for its relevance to the current situation in Indian higher education, but also because it is assumed that more than two decades after establishment, the institution has attained a certain maturity, and therefore it is an appropriate time to assess the continuing impact of metropolitan penetration.⁹

It has been argued in the preceding analysis that the Holmesian problem (solving) approach offers important methodological guidelines for testing the more "diffuse" formulation of Metropolitan Penetration proposed by writers of the dependency orientation. The distinctions drawn between different processes of decision making helps to avoid the determinism of dependency analysis; the discussion of Aims and objectives as facilitated by the IBE taxonomy helps in the evaluation of the normative impact of metropolitan penetration, and the other categories of analysis, provided by the IBE taxonomy help to examine metropolitan penetration, in the different institutional aspects of the IIMC's structure.

Each of these methodological guidelines, along with the substantive issues raised by dependency theorists, will be used in the following analysis, to test the validity of the first organising assumption of this study¹⁰ pertaining to the phenomenon of educational dependency, as illuminated by a case-study of the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

It has been suggested earlier, that the appropriate definition of priorities, aims and objectives of peripheral institution can be viewed as a task of strategic importance for the metropolitan agencies in the process of penetration.¹¹ In the context of the present study, the important question is the extent to which the stated aims and objectives of the IIMC have been formulated and adopted through processes of metropolitan penetration.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Planning and Collaboration Phase

In the case of the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, a preliminary assertion is that metropolitan agencies had an important role in defining institutional aims and objective. Each of the three reports sponsored by the Ford Foundation addressed the question of defining appropriate aims and objectives.¹² The approach adopted was however different in each case.

The Meriam-Thurlby Report,¹³ hesitated to make specific recommendations about the aims of the national management institute. Rather it admitted that,

it seems clear to us that the needs of India and Bombay are very different from those which we are most familiar. We therefore recommend that the plans for an Institute of Management Studies be based on the development of a program closely attuned to India's needs rather than on an attempt to transplant any existing foreign program....We urge most strongly that.... business education may evolve in keeping with the development of Indian needs. ¹⁴

The hesitant and sensitive tone of the Meriam-Thurlby report contrasts sharply with the opinions of the Indian experts as documented in the Report of the Indian Study Team on a visit to the U.S.A.¹⁵ In this report, the issue of "indigenous needs" was not viewed as problematic as far as appropriate definition of aims and objectives of management education at this level can best be described in the words of some well known institutions".¹⁶ The report then went on to quote, the three main goals of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University. It is clear, that excursions of Indian experts into this field yielded little benefit, in terms of rejection or even adaptation of the aims and objectives of American business schools.¹⁷ The aims emphasised by the American business schools were perceived as intrinsically appropriate and there was little deliberation of the need to take into account the socie-cultural specificity of the Indian environment in which the normative transplant was advocated.

The most acceptable prescription of appropriate institutional aims was provided by Associate Dean Robbins of the University of California at Los Angeles. The following extract from his report is worth quoting,

the Institute should have goals, definable in simple terms, which express ideals as guides to policy formulation and program development. The following goals are recommended as expressive of the defined needs :

1. To select and prepare outstanding and talented mature young people for careers leading to management responsibility.
2. To provide opportunities for practicing executives in middle and top management to obtain training and education in management knowledge, attitudes and skills.
3. To develop an Indian literature in management through research and publication of studies centered about the nature and role of of the enterprise unit in India, and relate it to world literature.

4. To prepare research scholars and teachers competent to carry on the important work in this field in all parts of India, whether as teachers or research specialists in industry or government.
5. To stimulate exchange of scholars and experience in management with scholars and practitioners in other countries.
6. To provide suitable physical facilities for resident students, classes laboratories, administrative and teaching staff, and a thoroughly equipped library.¹⁸

Close emulation of Robbin's prescription is clear in that the constitution of the society as set out in the "Memorandum of Association and Rules of the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta", reiterated verbatim as "objects" of the Society, goals of the Institute, expressed in the Robbins report.

There was however one interesting, and in fact, ironical exception to this faithful ventriloquising. The fourth goal of the proposed institution according to Robbins was,

to prepare research scholars and teachers competent to carry on the important work in this field in all parts of India, whether as teachers or research specialists in industry or commerce.¹⁹

In the constitution of the IIMC, however, it found only vague recognition. Thus function (e) in the Memorandum of Association is,

to assist the institute and carry out research into matters concerning the use of management and allied techniques and methods conducive to the improvement of productivity.²⁰

There was, it appears, no effort to acknowledge in the Memorandum of Association, either the need to orient research towards Indian needs or to train management teachers and specialists to spread the word of professionalized management. In terms of policy formulation then, it is

evident that the foreign experts were given complete freedom, to prescribe institutional goals and aims.

The clear definition, of institutional goals were welcomed by the American technical assistants, who assumed responsibility for the translation of these broad goals into more specific policies and programmes. In fact, Warren Haynes, the Team leader from Harvard for the Ahmedabad project, reported this effort of Robbins to have been a 'major factor' contributing to the success of the project because subsequently,

it was unnecessary to waste time on the definition of goals and tasks of the Institute. It has been possible to concentrate the Institute's efforts on the achievement of the specified goals.²¹

The first effort towards policy adoption, of prescribed aims at the IIMC was the preparation of a "Proposed plan of development" by the MIT Advisers with the help of the Indian Director of the Institute. In this proposal, the goals of the IIMC as envisaged by Robbins were seen as falling into two major sets of objectives, i.e., (a) the training objective and (b) the research objective. To implement the first objective, this plan proposed the,

- embracing of three subsidiary aims of :
- a) executive development,
- b) post-graduate professional education, and
- c) teacher development.²²

To implement successfully these aims, the plan suggested that the IIMC should aspire towards :

1. Its post-graduate program enrolling a total of some 300 students will be of two years duration and will lead to an internationally

recognised masters degree.

2. Its residential program will accomodate upto 120 persons per annum
3. Its teacher program will provide for perhaps five annual teaching sum research apprenticeships for junior university instructors plus short-term executive development program participation for a number of more senior people.²³

The significance of the research objective was also emphasized. Thus the experts commented,

We observe, however, that in newly developing economies, recognition of the need for applied research tends to lag recognition of the need for technical training. As a result, single purpose institutions transplanted from abroad may, for lack of intimate contact with the problems they are intended to solve, fail to adapt to their new environment. Research is, we believe, the means by which this Institute will take firm root in the Indian economy. ²⁴

To implement this objective the plan proposed,

1. Its faculty will on the average, be devoting approximately half-time to either personal or contract research and both the quality and quantity of faculty publications will compare favourably with outputs of other first class institutions of like character.
2. Its management research centre will be staffed and equipped, not only to back up faculty research, but also to handle major projects on a contract basis and to service visiting scholars from other Indian institutions and from abroad.
3. Its library will contain a good working collection of foreign publications and a superior collection of Indian materials.²⁵

The task of breaking up broad goals formulated by Robbins, into more specific institutional objectives, was then a combined effort of the technical assistants from MIT and their Indian counterparts. Even at this stage, it is interesting to note both, the complacent acceptance of goals outlined by Robbins, and their efficient translation into guiding policies

for the new institution. The proposed plan of development, was placed before the governing board of the IIMC, and once approved was widely accepted, by the participants involved, as the guiding documents of the new institution for the initial period of five years.²⁶

The effectiveness of metropolitan penetration, in the normative sphere, in the first phase of the institution's establishment, at the levels of policy formulation and adoption is clear.

The Intermediate Phase

Right through the phase of active collaboration, and in fact, upto quite recently, while the broad goals set by Robbins remained largely uncontested, there did take place in Indian Management circles an increasingly vigorous debate about appropriate priorities and emphasis towards which the IIM's should turn their attention.²⁷ In the case of the IIMC, from the period 1965 onwards the Indian faculty attempted to take an increasingly independent stance towards the priorities set by the American collaborators. It was supported in its efforts by the officers of the other metropolitan agency, the Ford Foundation. The disagreement between the Indian and American side centered on two major issues :

Firstly, it was felt by the Faculty, that the selective admission policies of IIMC were restraining the Institute from meeting the growing national demand, and therefore efforts should be made to increase the intake of participants in the IIMC's programmes.²⁸ Secondly, the orientation of the Institute was felt to be heavily biased towards the private sector, and the need was expressed for the Institute's research to be broadened, and made more relevant to the reality of the Indian situation.

Moreover, it was recognised amongst members of the IIMC, that an important goal stressed from the outset, i.e., training of future university teachers had been neglected in the priorities of institutional development, as proposed by the MIT Advisers in the Plan for development.

Thus, in December 1966 when a new Director was appointed for the IIMC, there was expressed within the Institute a need, to instil a new sense of purpose and direction to the institution.²⁹ This, was pointed out by D. Ensminger, (Ford Foundation representative) in a letter to President Julius Stratton of the MIT.

Dr. Mohan (the new Director) places priority on research development (and) recognizes that once the Institute has the necessary faculty, it must strengthen its programs to train teachers for the Universities.

This move, on the part of the IIMC's faculty was strongly opposed by the MIT technical assistants. The strenuous efforts, of the American technical assistants to impose their restraints on institutional priorities, and areas of institutional growth, is clear from the following extract of a memorandum from Thoman M. Hill, MIT project leader to Krishna Mohan the new Director of the IIMC dated February 27, 1967 :

It has been and is our intention that MIT be associated only with educational activities of recognizably superior quality. During the first three years of collaboration we found no reason to believe that IIMC performance standards differed significantly from our own. During the last two years however either through mismanagement or in an ill considered attempt to create an illusion of accomplishment in excess of actual, IIMC resources have been grossly overextended and its outputs correspondingly debased. As a consequence, we are now strongly motivated to help in repairing the damage, but in need of assurance as to further correspondence on institutional aims.³⁰

While the new Memorandum of Understanding, signed between the Ford Foundation and the IIMC, did in effect place the initiative for further MIT-IIMC collaboration on the IIMC, there is little doubt about the uncertainty, confusion and conflict over appropriate institutional direction, that prevailed in the IIMC in the latter phase of the collaboration period.

As the environmental, as well as internal situation, of the IIMC stabilised by the end of the sixties, a more moderate approach was adopted by the faculty members, and the rapidly changing leadership of the Institute. In a report published on its tenth anniversary the objectives of the IIMC were laid out as follows :

The objectives of the Institute are -

1. to educate a cadre of management trainees for industry.
2. to provide professional training for managers from industry reaching 120 per annum
3. to provide consulting services to industry, and Government for the solution of management problems.
4. to organise original research for publication.
5. to contribute a training programme for faculty development, aiming at 7 faculty members per annum. 32

Despite the disagreements with the foreign experts, it is clear, that the objectives of the IIMC had not changed substantially from those proposed by the MIT adviser, and the first Director of the Institute, in the initial plan for development. The broad goals of course had remained unchanged since the Robbins report.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Recent Phase

The initiative for a detailed re-examination of institutional priorities and direction was taken in 1977 by the newly appointed Director Hiten Bhaya. It was at this time also that the formal aims and objectives of the IIMC were reformulated in an attempt to orient the institution more specifically towards perceived Indian needs.

The rationale for these discussions were explained by Mr. Bhaya in a personal interview to the researcher :

In 1977, when I took over, I felt that significant changes had taken place in the Indian economic environment over the last fifteen years to which the management education imparted at the IIMC had not been able to respond sufficiently. In fact, the difficulties had been aggravated in some cases.

The changes were firstly, that while a large industrial expansion had been taking place in the public sector, the IIM students were mostly joining the Multinational corporations, which were already professionally managed and were therefore failing to meet the needs of new industry.

Secondly, there was an increasingly evident waste of national resources in that 75% of the IIM students came from the Indian Institutes of Technology and a large proportion of them, on completion of their management courses took jobs in the more attractive field of marketing etc. where their engineering background could not be sufficiently utilised.

Thirdly, there was in India an increased demand from Public systems like Transport etc, for management education which was not being met. Fourthly, there was also a growing criticism that the IIM's were unduly influenced by the American approach, using too many of the American ideas and models. This impression was largely false.

Given this situation, I along with the faculty members felt that the time was right for reformulation of institutional priorities. To implement the necessary reform it was felt that the following changes should take place :

- a) Newer areas must be explored especially within public enterprises and other public systems.

- b) There was a need to develop newer areas of knowledge, for example, the role of professional management in rural development. While this was in management circles currently a very fashionable area, there was felt within the faculty the need for a new approach, for training and research which would give a new insight. The problem here was that one had to learn before one could teach.
- c) There was also a need for a greater emphasis on small scale industries, to develop courses for new entrepreneurs etc.
- d) The Executive Development programmes which had formed a central part of the Institute's activities since the time of establishment was now becoming outdated as several big concerns were running their own management programmes. It was felt that it would be more useful to run a nine month course in functional areas for practicing executives.
- e) On the Academic side, it was clear that the stock of knowledge that we had started out with fifteen years ago, mostly from the American stock, was running out and needed replenishment. After all, our business is imparting and selling knowledge. If the knowledge stock is not getting replenished then we will be out of business. There is a need for replenishment of indigenous material of fundamental, functional and applied nature. This can only be done through research. The kind of research mostly carried out has been the application of some Western models and hypotheses to the Indian situation. This, I felt, was not good enough. There was need for more research in behavioural areas like motivation etc, which are more culture-specific. Some good work has been done in this area by individuals like Gouranga Chattopadhyaya and Uday Pareek. There is also need for greater research in the social and economic spheres. Empirical research on how organizations and businesses are currently being run in India is also needed. We therefore set out plans for the identification and organization of research in these areas. We also felt the need to organize meetings of similar research institutes for the exchange of areas, ideas and views.³³

The discussions and debates amongst the faculty members on the above issues led to the formal restatement of institutional objectives as follows :

to direct the education and development of young men and women along specific lines so as to meet the management needs of the industry.

to establish an infrastructure which would provide practising managers with the opportunity to acquaint themselves with management techniques, research and experimentation.

to establish a rapport between scientists and industrial decision makers through consultancy and training programmes aimed at

facilitating problem-solving in organisations.

to build a centre of advanced management providing opportunities for innovative research and promoting the development of indigenous literature on management. ³⁴

This effort on the part of Director Bhaya and colleagues preceded the publication of an official report in 1981. The Nanda Committee Report also ³⁵ considered in detail the issue of appropriate objectives for the Institutes. While basically in concurrence with the formulation above, it was of the opinion that formal changes should also be incorporated in the Memorandum of Association, stressing the importance of "(a)...training and educating managers for public utilities and services, public systems including rural development, agriculture etc, where management is relevant and (b) training and educating management teachers should also be included." ³⁶ Until April 1983, these recommendations had not been formally adopted.

The important difference, to be noted in these attempts at reformulating institutional objectives, is that the stress in both cases is on relevance, indigenization and broadening the training output, from its hitherto restricted impact on selected sections of the private sector only. The additional emphasis, given by the Nanda Committee Report on the training of management teachers, an objective not formally stated, in the reformulated objectives of the IIMC, ^{should} also be noted.

Summary

The above discussion of the aims and objectives of the IIMC, over the last two decades, demonstrates that the influence of metropolitan agencies in the formulation and adoption of institutional objectives was

important. In the initial phase, the broad goals of the Institute, as prescribed by Robbins, was accepted verbatim in the Memorandum of Association. Only in 1981, were changes, in the wording of the "objects" of the IIMC, recommended by the Nanda Committee. For two decades then, the aims as laid out by the metropolitan agencies, remained undisputed at least in terms of the constitution.

The task, of translating the broad goals into more specific institutional objectives, was first undertaken by the MIT advisers, with the help of the Indian leadership in the "Proposed Plan of Development"³⁷. These objectives continued to provide the framework for institutional development, until 1977, when under the leadership of Director Bhaya, changes were incorporated. It must be pointed out, however, that the objectives proposed by the first plan, were on no account placidly accepted throughout the late sixties and seventies. Differences regarding institutional priorities, and style of development, often arose between the technical assistants and the Indian faculty. The issue, of appropriate institutional direction, also remained a constant issue of debate in Indian management circles, and efforts were made to shift emphases, and priorities, within the framework of the Institutional objectives.

One of the striking features of present discussions of institutional direction, is the emphasis placed on the goals of indigenization and relevance. This emphasis, indeed appears to the researcher, to be indicative of a significant shift from the previous normative dependency on the metropolitan agencies. As the interview with the Indian faculty members as well as the present and immediate past Director suggests, the

Indianization stressed is not merely at the level of import substitution or as suggested by Bhaya, the "testing of Western Hypotheses in the Indian situation",³⁸ but rather an expressed recognition of the need to delink foreign experience, from the Indian and make management education more culture specific.

At the level of stated aims and objectives, then a shift from dependency is clear. The extent to which these objectives have been actually adopted successfully is unclear and will be the focus of analysis in subsequent sections.

ADMINISTRATION

It has been argued in the dependency discourse that in the process of institutional transfer of higher education structures from the Metropolitan society to the Peripheral one, administrative patterns of the metropolitan institution are often exported. The issue of interest to the researcher attempting to test the dependency thesis is whether this aspect of institutional transfer represents an attempt by the metropolitan agencies to provide an infrastructural framework within which they can attempt to control and influence institutional development.

The power exercised by metropolitan agencies can be related to both the external and internal aspect of the peripheral institution's organisational structure. Thus one way in which metropolitan agencies can determine the future course of events in peripheral institutions is through participating directly or indirectly in decision regarding the position of the sponsored institutions in the overall pattern of education in the host country. Yet another means by which power can be exercised by metropolitan agencies is through decisions relating to the internal organisation of the institution.

The following analysis will concentrate on the influence exerted by the Ford Foundation and MIT technical assistants in the processes of policy formulation and policy adoption, in respect of (a) the Institutional Status and (b) the Internal Organisation of the IIMC in different phases of its development.

Important questions raised are as follows : who were the individuals or groups instrumental in prescribing and adopting the new administrative structures ? In what ways were provisions for metropolitan penetration made at different levels of the administrative structure ? To what extent were potential sources of conflict inherent in this process of transfer anticipated by the metropolitan agencies and their Indian counterparts ? Finally, to what extent have modes of penetration as well as dependency relationships been modified over a period of time in this aspect of the IIMC's functioning?

A starting assertion is that metropolitan penetration in the administrative structure of the IIMC took place in two important ways. Firstly, in 1960, a Ford Foundation instigated decision was made to constitute the management institute as an Autonomous Society independent of existing University structures. A corollary to this strategic decision was the establishment of an administrative structure within the new Institute which was not only appropriate to the institution's organisation as an autonomous society, but was also a marked departure from the prevalent patterns of administrative organisation in Indian higher education. The organisational design of the IIMC, it is asserted, reflected in a significant manner the intentions of the American metropolitan agencies to break away from the model of the traditional Indian University which remained until the time, essentially, a product of British colonialism.

INSTITUTIONAL STATUS

An important structural feature of the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta is its organization as an Autonomous society, completely independent of existing university structures. While the advantages and disadvantages of adopting this structural form is of general interest, attention in this analysis will be restricted to the part played by metropolitan agencies in adopting this form of organisation. It will be argued, that despite serious limitation the metropolitan agency in this case, the Ford Foundation, with the help of a section of the Indian political leadership pushed through a decision to establish the IIMC in a particular structural mode.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Planning and Collaboration Phase.

The first question raised in this analysis is who prescribed the establishment of the IIMC in this structural form and to what extent was the individual or agency responsible, aware of the limitations as well as benefits to be gained from such a decision. Three major reports had preceded the establishment of the proposed National Institute of Management, each of which had been sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

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The Meriam-Thurlby report, had suggested the establishment of the National Institute of Management within the jurisdiction of the University of Bombay. It had however, stressed the importance of the Institute retaining as much independence as possible from the University in order to fulfill an innovative role in Indian management education.

The Report of the Visit of the Indian Study Team to the U.S.A. had also recommended the establishment of the Institute of Management studies within existing University structures. This recommendation of the study team is not surprising in view of the fact that most of its members represented the existing management departments of leading Universities. It was clearly not in their interest to advocate an Autonomous Institute.

In terms of documentary evidence, the decision to establish the Indian Institutes of Management in this organisational form was based on the recommendations of the Robbins report. In doing so, not only did Robbins reject the proposal that the Institutes be constituted as part of the University, but also rejected the alternative proposal to make the Institute an Autonomous "creature" of the State, in which case, through a special act of Parliament, it would have degree-granting status. The difficulty in both these organisational forms would be according to Robbins, lack of flexibility in terms of "innovations, its size, its rate of growth and its special budgetary needs." On the other hand, he recognised that while the recommended solution may "restrict the types of degrees to be awarded this method provides ample compensation factors in freedom and flexibility".⁴¹

Robbins in making this recommendation was aware of both the benefits and shortcomings of this organizational form. Clearly, it was an arbitrary recommendation, to be made by a consultant who had only spent six months in India and therefore could only be superficially aware of both the political and academic outcomes of his recommendation. This is especially evident in view of the fact that the other two preceding reports had suggested otherwise. Moreover, precedent for this

organisational form could also not be found in the historical development of the American business school model, which had from the outset been an integral part of the University system. On what basis then was this recommendation made and accepted by the key participants of the project?

It is possible to assert in this context that the insistence of the Ford Foundation personnel to ensure Autonomy arose from their perceptions of the Indian University structure which in their opinion was incapable of sustaining an American style innovation for at least two reasons.

Firstly, there was a widespread derogation by the American technical assistants of the present conditions of the Indian Universities. The following extract from a "Report on Trip to India" by former Ford Foundation consultant Philip Coombs is typical :

However well the educational system may have served the purpose of British rule, it certainly is not well suited to the needs of an independent and democratic India today. And unfortunately conditions and attitudes within the educational system have not changed substantially except to grow worse in some respects. The system still serves only a minority and there is gross inequality of educational opportunity, despite the aims and efforts of the government to correct it. The quality is typically poor. The emphasis is still on memory work, passing examinations, the lecture system, accumulating degrees, hard and fast compartmentalization of academic subject matter....The universities still bear the heavy imprint of earlier British notions and practices which the British themselves, I suspect, would be the first to repudiate today. 42

Secondly, the pro British attitudes of Indian academics within the universities were seen by the American experts as a major source of resistance to American style innovation. As efforts acknowledged by F.C. Ward, the first long term Ford Foundation consultant in Education in India,

A second factor limiting the influence of American models is the simple fact that almost all of the educational leaders of India (an enormously impressive group) in its first years had either studied in England or in Indian universities of British inspiration. These leaders not only saw the forms and procedures with which they were directly acquainted as somehow natural and right; they also tended to see other forms and procedures such as the American, as debasements rather than possible useful alternatives.⁴³

Given this distaste for innovation within the existing structures, the Ford Foundation personnel also ran into trouble over their efforts to persuade the University authority to meet differential salaries for the faculty as compared to normal university staff as well as make special provisions for consultancy facilities in order to attract a high quality staff.

On the above evidence, it can be suggested that the American consultant as well as the Ford Foundation's India office felt that the proposed transfer of the American business school could not take place adequately within the existing framework of the Universities due to the inbuilt resistance to change the bureaucratic procedures of the latter institutions. It was on this basis, that the move to sacrifice or at least postpone degree-granting status in favour of Institutional autonomy was suggested by the Ford Foundation with the approval of influential Indian Cabinet Ministers, Sir V.I. Krishnamachari, T.T. Krishnamachari, C.D. Deshmukh and Professor Humayun Kabir.⁴⁴

Whatever the rationale, it is clear that the Ford Foundation played a crucial role in formulating this policy, as has been acknowledged by the Ford Foundation representative Dr. Douglas Ensminger, in a personal letter to the researcher.⁴⁵

There is little doubt that the Ford Foundation's India office exercised overtly, its power and influence in advocating an autonomous status for the proposed Institute of Management. The actual process of policy adoption was however undertaken by the Indian Planning Commission. This is pointed out by Ford Foundation representative, Ensminger in his Oral History :

It was the Planning Commission that really took the policy decision to support the creation of the management institutes outside the universities, and directed the first institute to be located in Bombay. The Planning Commission also gave direction to the policy decision that this new institute was to be registered under the Indian Societies Act, which meant it would be a non Government institution, having its own Board of Government, being free to lay down its own policies with respect to salaries, and the faculty being able to participate in consultations and all other matters, relating to the institute.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note the remarkable coincidence between the recommendations made by the Robbins report and the policy decisions made by the Indian Planning Commission. The effectiveness of metropolitan agency penetration at this central level is clear.

The Foundation however, was less successful in convincing the Indian university authorities of the validity of its manipulation of this particular policy. The response of the traditional Academic elites in India, the University authorities, to the idea of an Autonomous Institute was one of strong opposition.⁴⁸ The Ford Foundation however,⁴⁹ remained undeterred in its resolution.

The strongest resistance came from the University of Bombay under whose auspices the institution had been hitherto planned. It became impossible for the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to moot the idea of an

Autonomous management institute in Bombay. The resistance of the University authorities held despite strong persuasive efforts by the Foundation.⁵⁰ It was this active opposition which, was responsible for the decision to locate one of the Institutes at Ahmedabad rather than Bombay. In Calcutta, the opposition was strong but less organised, and the enthusiasm of the Chief Minister B.C. Roy made the establishment of an Autonomous Institute possible, despite the cool reception it received from the University authorities.

The direct outcome of the decision in favour of autonomy was the denial of degree granting status to the two IIM's. That this was the price which had to be paid for the freedom and flexibility made possible by the Autonomous structure, was recognised by Robbins as well as the Ford Foundation officers, but still a deliberate choice was made in favour of retaining institutional autonomy.⁵¹

A report of the discussion on this issue in the case of the Ahmedabad Institute indicates that the decision to accept a non degree granting status was based on the following rationale :

1. to business the quality of the Institute's graduates would be more important than the nature of the paper attesting their successfully having a completed course;
2. it was better at the beginning to have the independence of a non degree granting status than to have a degree-granting power;
3. precedents set in connection with technological institutes in India suggested that there was no special discrimination against business education involved;
4. all concerned, the Board and Drs. Sarabhai, Ensminger, and Professor Thacker agreed that the ultimate objective was to obtain degree-granting status. 52

While reports of discussions on this subject are not available for the Calcutta institute, it is possible to assume that similar considerations prevailed in that case too. The first decision on this subject in the case of the Calcutta Institute was reached at a planning meeting held at the Chief Minister's office on March 16, 1961, in which it was agreed that,

every effort would be made to discover means by which the Institute could obtain authority to confer advanced degrees at the earliest possible date. 52

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Intermediate Phase

The "Autonomous Status" of the Indian Institutes of Management has remained an important issue of debate in Indian Management Education over the years. While on one hand, the literature on institution building in public administration and management, has identified Autonomy as an important ingredient in the maintenance of the innovative impact of the Indian management Institutes, On the other hand, the IIM's have also come under continuous attack from the University based management experts for their apparently arrogant autonomous status. The defensive attitude of the Institutes as well as the Ford Foundation in the latter respect is clear from the following observation,

I am sure many of you amongst the audience will doubt the wisdom of such a decision. But the reason as you know is that there is a widespread belief that the introduction of an innovative system, not just a new subject is more likely to survive outside the University system. Unless the rigidities in the University system become more flexible many of the new educational needs will develop outside the University system. 54

The Annual General Reports published by the IIMC as well as the narrative reports submitted by it to the Ford Foundation reveal a continuing

efforts by successive Directors of the IIMC to secure degree-granting status for their Institution. The option favoured from the outset has been the passing of a special Parliamentary Bill which would declare the IIMC as an institution of National Importance and thereby enable it to grant degrees. This had been the arrangement in the case of the Indian Institutes of Technology which were also set up under technical assistance programmes outside the jurisdiction of the Universities. During this period, the option of affiliation with the University has never been seriously considered though a limited collaboration arrangement with Calcutta University was discussed when the Fellowship (Phd) programme was instituted in 1971. This plan also did not materialise.

Policy Formulation and Policy Adoption in the Recent Phase

The latest move in the modification of the institutional status of the IIM's has been the recommendation of the Review Committee for the the Indian Institutes of Management (1981) that since,

the Indian Institute of Management are playing and will continue to play a vital role in this national effort to develop and channelise human resources. Therefore, the Government of India should take early necessary steps to declare these three institutes as institutes of national importance with a flexible national framework. 55

The "necessary steps" to be taken in this ^{direction} ~~effort~~ would be the passing of a Parliamentary Bill on the lines previously discussed. It is important to note, in terms of the penetration assumption that this option had been available at the time of the Robbins report but had been rejected because,

the process of enactment would likely to be slow and uncertain, while the institutional framework would be quite inflexible in practice.⁵⁶

The continued influence of metropolitan agencies upto recently, is clear from the way in which this recommendation of Robbins, has continued to affect the deliberations of the Nanda Committee, more than twenty years later, when it notes that,

Care should, however, be exercised to meet the only objection Dean Robbins had for establishing these institutes as Institutes of National Importance i.e. the institutional framework will be quite inflexible in practice.⁵⁷

FACULTY VIEWS

In a series of personal interviews carried out with the immediate past and present Director of the IIMC and thirty five faculty members, questions were asked about the perceived value of the Autonomous structure.

All interviewees were united on the issue of autonomy. In their opinion, IIMC would have been seriously constrained in terms of its innovative impact had it been part of the University structure. As stated by the present Director, Professor R.P. Aiyar,

Flexibility in an environment of high intellectual calibre provides the setting for innovative behaviour. We have been constantly working in that direction.⁵⁸

There were however a few notes of dissent on how well the flexibility provided by the Autonomous status had been utilised. The following extract from an interview with some of the faculty members

provides an interesting analysis of the existing situation.

Theoretically, Autonomy has increased the innovative capacity. Practically, it has not done so to a major extent for the following reasons :

1. The successive leadership styles at the top management have concentrated more on maintenance function rather than visionary function...
2. Institution building and a long term perspective of the Institute's growth has not been given the kind of attention it deserves.
3. Faculty are often employed on short term contracts and there is an inadequate follow up of innovative activities with the intention of institutionalising the innovation.

Thus, while Autonomy means we have freedom to develop any way we can that freedom has to be managed, channellised and institutionalised in the right direction, which I think has not been done very effectively by the right management people.⁵⁹

To what extent was this failure to channelise Institutional Autonomy linked to the initial dependency (both normative and institutional) created or reinforced by metropolitan agencies? In the words of another faculty member,

If you go very deep into these issues, you will see that these institutes being set up under foreign collaboration could not get over that bit of history. Over a period of time flexibility has become part of the system. Why did this occur ?

At the time of establishment due to the existing institutional arrangements, the Government of India did not set up rules and regulations or interfere in the day to day running of the Institute. The rationale was that these Institutes are being developed by the MIT and the Ford Foundation and so let them evolve autonomously. The GOI therefore remained aloof. ⁶⁰

SUMMARY

On the issue of Institutional Status, the Institute has come around full circle from the time of its inception to the present moment, more than two decades later. In their haste to set up the institution and

to make possible a hasty decision was pushed through by the Ford Foundation to postpone degree granting status at the time of establishment. No doubt, the decision can be explained in relation to the specific political exigencies of the time and no doubt the Institute itself has not pushed through its efforts for degree-granting status with sufficient zeal.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that a structural limitation was introduced into the Institute's functioning since the time of establishment. The negative consequences of such a handicap will be discussed in the next chapter. The major contention of this analysis is that the work of Hill et. al is guilty of a myopic focus when it claims that "it is not apparent that either suffered serious disadvantage as a result of that inadequacy."⁶¹

INTERNAL ORGANISATION

It has been suggested earlier that a second area susceptible to metropolitan penetration, is the internal administrative structure of the peripheral institution. In the context of this study, important questions relating to this institutional aspect are (a) whether the administrative set-up at the IIMC has been closely determined by its American sponsors and (b) in what ways was metropolitan penetration facilitated as a result of the IIMC's organisational design ?

Given the complexity of inter relationships within any organisation, particularly one in which external agencies have been actively involved in the decision making process, what is required is a model or organising principle with the help of which authority patterns and delegation of responsibility at different levels of the Administrative structure can be analysed. The Holmes IBE taxonomy offers as a methodological tool for analysis the "Formal Organisation Model", adapted from Parsons.⁶² Within this model, control structures are differentiated at three levels; i.e. the Public Interest level, the Managerial level and the Technical level. This taxonomy along with Holmesian distinction between the processes of policy formulation and policy adoption will be used to answer the broad questions raised above.⁶³

Policy Formulation and Policy Adoption in the Planning & Collaboration Phase

Amongst the three preparatory documents preceding the birth of the Institute, issues of administrative organisation received only cursory attention from the Meriam-Thurlby Report⁶⁴ and the Report of the Indian Management Education Study Team.⁶⁵ The Robbins report, on the other hand

dealt with this aspect of policy formulation in a succinct as well as prescriptive manner.

The Robbins Report envisaged for the proposed Institute, an administrative structure which on its own admission was "new and represent [ed] wide departures from those of existing educational institutions in India"⁶⁶. Thus, in contrast to the hierarchical patterns of control which existed in the Universities, Robbins envisaged a form of organisation the key words of which were "freedom and flexibility"⁶⁷

The major constituents of the administrative structure envisaged by Robbins were (a) Board of Governors, (b) an Executive Council, (c) The Director, (d) Other Administrative Staff, (e) The Faculty. Broadly then, the administrative organisation prescribed for the IIMC corresponds to the Parsons' Formal Organisation model.

(a) Board of Governors

In the scheme envisaged by Robbins, there would be at the highest level a Board of Governors (Parsons' Public interest Group), which would represent "leaders in business, government, and education".⁶⁸ The report went on further to recommend the appropriate numbers of Governors, the areas of public services and business from which they should be selected, and their areas of responsibility in the administration of the Institute.⁶⁹

(b) Executive Council

The second level of control prescribed by Robbins was an Executive Council composed of not more than nine members of the Board of Governors who would have more direct responsibility in administering the affairs of the Institute, the broad policies which would be laid down and adopted by the Governing Board. This group would comprise in terms of the Parsonian model, a combined Public Interest cum Managerial Group.

(c) Director

North American philanthropic foundations, have emphasised consistently the importance of "professional training for leadership", to "carefully selected future leaders".⁷¹ Given this concern on the part of the foundation for ensuring "appropriate socialization" of chosen future leaders, it is not surprising that the foundation was actively involved in policy formulation regarding the selection and future training or "reorientation" of the Directors of the IIMC. The recommendations of the Robbins report provided the guidelines on the basis of which selection was undertaken. Apart from outlining in some detail appropriate roles for the first director, Robbins discussed in his report the issue of the appropriate nationality of the person to be selected for the job. He considered three possible choices available. Firstly, the Director could be an Indian, in which case according to Robbins,⁷²

the main ^{dis}advantage of such a choice may be that no Indian can be found that meets all the qualifications, including a substantial background in management education...The choice of an American director, on the other hand, appears to have substantial limitations with respect to an intimate knowledge

of India...another alternative may be a short term appointment of an American director with an Indian associate or co-ordinator during the formative period. The objective would be to have the Indian assume complete control at the conclusion of this period of not less than three years". [His recommendations however was that] : "the first director to be an Indian".

The "disadvantage" [of the Director being an Indian] "could be minimized in a relatively simple way....for example, he [the Indian Director] could spend several months of intensive and systematically organised experience in a chosen graduate business school in the United States followed by support from an American educator in the form of intermittent correspondence with and occasional visits to the Institute.

Clearly then, the intention of the metropolitan agencies was that while the Director of the Institute should for political reasons be Indian, he must be well indoctrinated in techniques and norms of American business education and practice. While initial discussions revolved around the appointment of an American Director for the IIMC, the proposal was rejected as being politically unwise, given Indian sensitivity atleast at the level of political rhetoric to issues of imperialism and the unwillingness of leading American academics to jeopardise their careers back home by accepting a long term appointment in India. The final decision, in terms of policy formulation was to select an Indian Director, but ensure an "appropriate" reorientation of his outlook by spending a few months at a selected North American business school.

(d) Director-Faculty Relationships

The Robbins report also stressed the need for effective interaction between the appointed leader (the Director) and the technical group (the Faculty). The de facto leadership of the institution, should be provided according to Robbins, "from a director and his teaching and research staff acting as a group". 73

It is important to note that this suggestion of Robbins which implied a fraternal rather than deferential relationship between the Director and his academic staff, presented an important challenge to existing leadership patterns in Indian Universities which were of a stridently paternalistic nature.

(e) Other Administrative Staff

In the administrative set-up proposed by Robbins, the 'Key leader' or Director would be helped in his administrative tasks initially by at least four assistants. These included : (i) a librarian, (ii) a business manager, (iii) a research director, and (iv) a ^c chairman of Educational Programmes. Robbins recommended the latter two posts should be held by members of the Faculty. The responsibilities to be delegated to each of these positions were also clearly spelled out in the report.⁷⁴

As regards the training of these administrative personnel, Robbins emphasised the importance of giving them the opportunity to "study problems and their solutions in leading business schools in the United States". In the case of the research director, the report prescribed that "the Institute should be prepared to send him to other countries to review the operations of similar research departments".⁷⁵

Apart from the four administrative positions discussed above, Robbins also recommended the recruitment of two other administrators for the jobs of Provost and Placement Officer. The Provost's responsibility was the management of students' affairs, which included among other things "recruitment, selection, indoctrination [sic] housing".⁷⁶ The Placement officer who could also be a part-time faculty member, was entrusted with

the task of "studying the needs of business and the qualifications of the students and discover ways of fitting these together as closely as possible".⁷⁷

(f) Faculty

The Faculty members of the IIMC constitute, according to Parsons' Formal Organisation model, the technical group. Robbins made little specific reference to the administrative responsibilities of the faculty. The report, however, did emphasise the leading role to be played by these individuals in "developing a new kind of graduate school for which patterns in India (and few elsewhere) are available".⁷⁸

On the whole, it is observed that the administrative structure proposed by Robbins was closely emulative of the American model and differed substantially from existing administrative structures in Indian Universities. While the constitution of the Institute as an autonomous society influenced to a considerable extent its internal organisation design, there is also to be observed the attempted transfer of patterns of administration based on the American model. This is particularly evident in the emphasis on horizontal rather than vertical linkages between the different levels of the administrative hierarchy.

Also by retaining flexibility within the system, provision was made for the active participation of the technical collaborators in the early development of the institution. The clear cut demarcation of the responsibilities of the Public Interest Group, the Managerial Group and to a lesser extent the Technical Group, was perhaps aimed at avoiding

concentration of power in the hands of any one body for example the Board of Governors or any one individual Director's. At the level of policy formulation thus, the Robbins report made ample provision for metropolitan penetration in the administrative affairs of the new Institute.

Robbins' recommendations on the administrative organisation of the management institute were in fact only partially adopted by the Indian planners and the MIT technical assistants. While, on one hand the formal organisation chart as envisaged by Robbins was substantially altered at the time of establishment,⁷⁹ on the other hand, Robbins' recommendations regarding the constitution of the Public Interest Group (the Board of Governors) as well as his views on selection and recruitment of the Institute's Director were closely followed.

Board of Governors

At the first meeting of the Planning Committee for the "establishment of a Central Institute of Management Studies" held at Calcutta on the 18th of February 1961, a resolution regarding the Board of Governors was passed.⁸⁰

It is interesting to note that at this meeting, there was only one representative of the metropolitan agencies, i.e., John Coleman of the Ford Foundation. The other members present included, two officials of the Central Government, two officials of the State Government, one representative of the Metal Box Company of India, Professor Humayun Kabir, (Minister for Scientific research and Cultural Affairs), and Dr.B.C. Roy, (Chairman of the Committee and Chief Minister of West Bengal).

It was decided at this meeting that,

the administration and management of the affairs and finances of the Institute should be vested in a Board of Governors consisting of not more than 21 members as shown below.

Chairman to be appointed by the Central Government in consultation with the State Government.

Three nominees of the Central Government representing its Ministries of Finance, Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and Commerce and Industry.

Two representatives of the State Government representing its concerned departments.

A representative of the All India Council for Technical Education.

Six persons to be nominated by the Central Government in consultation with the State Government to represent Commerce, Industry, Labour and other interests.

A representative of the All India Management Association.

A representative of the National Productivity Council of India.

No more than 6 members to be co-opted by the Governing Body as a whole. 81

Overtly, then it appears that the officials of the Indian Government were in strong control over the administrative responsibilities of the IIMC. The provisions for members of the board as set up in the minutes of the meeting and later incorporated in toto in the Memorandum of Association, provides no indication of a strong metropolitan presence at the highest level of administrative control of the new institution.

However, on closer examination it looks possible that there is provision for the participation of metropolitan agencies ~~in~~ through cooptation on the Governing Board. Such participation did not take place immediately, as within the two official documents published at the time of establishment, (the Memorandum of Association and the First Annual Report published in 1962) there is no mention of co-opted members of the Governing Board under ^{this} category.

In fact the plan for development prepared in 1962, in collaboration with MIT adviser T.M. Hill proposes that,

the Institute should maintain active liaison with various professional bodies (e.g. the Institute of Chartered Accountants), with both the Federations of Chambers of Commerce; with industries in both the public and private sectors and with the universities. This fact should we suggest, be given due consideration in choosing new members (of the Board of Governors to fill the six positions for co-opted members as authorised by the Memorandum of Association).⁸²

The metropolitan agencies were, it appears, not interested in exercising influence through the Board of Governors at least at that time in the history of the IIMC. Their modes of operation, it is suggested, were much more carefully chosen. Thus, in the same plan for development, Hill while advocating least interference of metropolitan agencies in the Governing Board, also points out the need for the appointment of a committee for,

the purpose of interviewing candidates for faculty and staff appointments....With respect to the Selection Committee, we recommend a membership composed of the leader of the MIT Group, the Director of the Institute, Professor Thacker, and two or three other members of the Board.⁸³

It appears that rather than attempting to exercise obvious control by active participation in the Governing Body, the metropolitan agencies were more interested in the selection and appointment of the faculty, Director and the staff, anticipating perhaps in this process opportunities for more effective penetration.

The Board of Governors remained, over the phase of active collaboration, essentially a policy formulating body, meeting once a quarter to discuss broad guidelines for institutional development. The members of the Board had been carefully selected from leaders in Government and business, and consequently, could devote but little time to the institution's administration.

Executive Council

As demonstrated by the tentative organisation chart,⁸⁴ Robbins' proposal regarding an intermediate level of control between the Board of Governors and the Director was not accepted by the Indian Planners. The Executive Council, envisaged by Robbins to comprise of selected members of the Board of Governors, therefore did not materialise.

Director

The decision to appoint an Indian Director having been made, as per Robbins' recommendation, the metropolitan agencies along with key individual at the Indian side initiated the search for a suitable Director. The "criteria for selection was that he should be agreeable to the aims of the Institute, commanding the respect of Industrialists and qualified to lead the Institute faculty in the development of academic policy."⁸⁵

Given the importance attached by the foundation to 'suitable leadership' in recipient institutions, it is not surprising to note in the internal correspondence of the foundation, the active role played by Ford Foundation officers as well as the MIT staff, in the screening and selection of suitable individuals for the job. In late 1961, Mr K.T. Chandy was finally selected as the first Director of the IIMC.

Director-Faculty Relationships

Another aspect of the administrative pattern to be adopted at the IIMC concerned the delegation of power and responsibility between the Managerial and Technical Groups. As discussed already, the Robbins report rejected the

paternalistic leadership patterns at Indian Universities and stressed the importance of faculty participation in administrative decision making. The value of this suggestion made by Robbins was recognised by the Indian planners, and the administrative system established, assigned important areas of responsibility (Educational Programmes, Executive Development and Research) to three Senior Professors.

This demarcation of responsibilities, led from the outset to a differentiation between the "Academic" and "Administrative" aspects of the institution's functioning. An implicit norm of institutional culture was thus established - namely, that while the Director shared academic decision making with his faculty colleagues, the administrative functions were solely his responsibility, with of course the help of other administrative officers.

Other Administrative Staff

The proposed plan of development adopted at the IIMC also altered Robbin's scheme at this administrative level by making the "librarian" and "Administrator" "immediately responsible" to the Director, while functioning at a lower level than the three faculty members, who were assigned charge of Educational programmes, Executive Development and Research.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Intermediate Phase

The simple organisational design proposed by the MIT technical assistants at the time of establishment, assumed more complex dimensions in the period following the phase of active collaboration. Certain important administrative changes during this period can be noted.

Board of Governors

It has been noted earlier, that the role of the Board of Governors in the administration of the IIMC, was mostly that of a policy formulating body. A notable feature of their role in this period, was a growing distance between the Governing Board and the actual functioning of the institution. Due to the important positions held by Board members in Government and business, few members could address adequately or effectively the teething problems of the new institution. Moreover, the adopted tradition of having the Chief Minister as the Chairman of the Board, lent an air of formality to Board meetings.⁸⁷

The powers of the Governing Board in directing institutional development were further undermined in that, in times of crisis, the Board lacked the propensity to reach quick decisions. Due to the wide ranging composition of the Board, coupled with the Chairman being the Chief Minister, cohesive and efficient decision making often became problematic. This problem was particularly highlighted at the time of appointment of the second Director, when the Board had to be pressed into taking a decision in the face of a threat by the Ford Foundation to withdraw financial assistance. This occasion also represents an important attempt at direct control, as exercised by the Ford Foundation.⁸⁸

It is clear, that the Board of Governors intervened only marginally in IIMC affairs during the phase of active collaboration. As shown in the analysis above, with the exception of a few individuals like Dr. B.C. Roy, the role of the Board in policy formulation was limited.⁸⁹ Such limited participation on its part was, however, largely consistent with the public relations and legitimation roles envisaged for the Board by the metropolitan agencies and their Indian counterparts.

An important outcome of such flexibility of control at the highest level, was the shifting of the locus of decision making from the Board (in traditional terms, the policy formulating body) to other levels within the Institute's administration. While such an outcome was perhaps considered desirable initially, by the metropolitan agencies who wanted to retain a great deal of flexibility within the system, its long term consequences were in no way favourable to either metropolitan interests, or the successful institutionalisation of the IIMC, as will be demonstrated later in the analysis.

Director

Having achieved only limited success in realising their goal of securing compliant leadership in the first Director of the IIMC, the metropolitan agencies assumed a more vigilant stance in the selection of his successor.

In a letter dated October 21, 1966 Dean William F. Pounds of the Sloan School of Management at MIT wrote to the Ford Foundation's Indian representative, D. Douglas Ensminger,

we have continued in expectation of a change of leadership which would afford opportunity for review and redefinition....We know of no further action we can take to expedite decision by the IIMC Board of Governors, and it may well be that you are similarly constrained.⁹⁰

Dean Pounds' apprehension that the Ford Foundation would be constrained to take effective action in this respect proved to be mistaken, especially in view of the fact that the Foundation's pressurising position was traditionally strongest ^{during} pre-grant negotiations. As pointed out by Ireland, "The Foundation

had a particularly strong hand to take this position at that moment as both the second and third supplemental grants were coming up for renewal with large sums of unexpended monies remaining".⁹¹ Thus, operating from a position of strength, Ensminger was able to write to the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr P.C. Sen, (also the Chief Minister of West Bengal)

I cannot even consider a recommendation to the Foundation for a supplementary grant to the Institute until the new Director has been appointed, and we can know from him what he sees to be the Institute's needs, and is assured of the support for carrying out his programme.....

I know you have appointed a special committee to select Mr.Chandy's successor. I am wondering what you can tell me about how much longer it will be before the Board can meet and select the new Director.⁹²

So effective was the Foundation's threat to withdraw support, that on December 9, 1966, Ensminger was able to confirm to Dean Pounds at MIT that a new Director, Dr. Krishna Mohan had been selected to replace Mr Chandy.⁹³

The choice of Dr. Krishna Mohan, (who was till then only a part-time faculty member at the IIMC) as second Director was regarded as excellent by the metropolitan agency. A strong point in his favour, according to Ford Foundation representative D. Ensminger was that,

It is very clear that Dr. Mohan has no bias against foreigners or an association with MIT; on the contrary, he recognizes the need for a continuous and effective MIT relationship.⁹⁴

In this case, it is seen that metropolitan penetration was successful in policy formulation and policy adoption regarding the choice of the second Director of the IIMC. However, as will be pointed out later, Mohan's pro-American orientations did not popularise him with powerful faculty groups

at the IIMC; other problems too cropped up during his tenure and within two years of Directorship he was forced to resign. Over the next fifteen years, while the Ford Foundation has remained actively concerned with the leadership situation at the IIMC, displaying alternately feelings of concern,⁹⁵ irritation,⁹⁶ and relief⁹⁷ at the rapid changes, its participation in the formulation and adoption of policy regarding the choice of Director has been very indirect.

Director-faculty Relationships

Perhaps the most distinctive administrative change that took place during this period at the IIMC was the shifting of the locus of decision making away from the formally appointed authorities; i.e., the Board of Governors and the Director (The Public Interest and Managerial Group) to the Technical Group or the Faculty.

In terms of the formal organisation chart of the IIMC, new positions for academic administration were created during this period. The policy adopted was that a faculty member [would] act as the Chairman of each main academic activity, and assume responsibility for its efficient functioning. Over the years thus, in contrast to the three positions of responsibility originally envisaged for the faculty, the following positions were created.

1. Chairman, Post-Graduate Programme.
2. Chairman, Executive Development Programme.
3. Chairman, Doctoral Programme.
4. Chairman, Placement.
5. Chairman, Admissions.

6. Chairman, Consultancy.
7. Chairman, Research.⁹⁸

The creation of these new faculty positions in Academic administration was also accompanied by greater faculty control over institutional affairs. This move had important long term implications in the development of the institutional culture and dominant patterns of authority at the IIMC, as will be discussed in greater detail in Part IV of the study.

Other Administrative Staff

The general administration base at the IIMC was also expanded during this period. This is pointed out in the Tenth Anniversary report which states,

The Director is assisted in discharging his administrative functions by an Administrative Officer who, in his turn, is assisted by an Assistant Administrator and an Accounts Officer. The Audit Officer (internal) reports to the Director. An Executive Engineer with supporting staff looks after the work of campus development.⁹⁹

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Recent Phase

- As a consequence of the administrative changes proposed and adopted over the last two decades, the organisational set-up at the IIMC has changed substantially from the one proposed in the Robbins Report and the Plan of development. The complexity of the present structure is diagrammatically demonstrated in Appendix 4. Nonetheless, important points of similarity can be observed. The distinction between academic administration and general administration, originally envisaged continues to hold good today. The roles and responsibilities of the different levels also remain

substantially unchanged, despite a significant shift (as observed earlier) in the power balance and authority patterns, within the institution.

The most recent attempt at policy formulation regarding the Administrative structure can be found in the recommendations of the Report¹⁰⁰ of the Review Committee, published in 1981. On the whole, the Report was appreciative of the existing administrative structure, which was viewed as being different from that existing in other educational institutions. Its recommendations regarding internal organisation are briefly discussed below.

Board of Governors -

The Nanda Committee considered in detail the roles and responsibilities of the Board of Governors as well as their appropriate composition. Its recommendations, regarding the above were only marginally different from those proposed by Robbins more than two decades ago. A significant change, was the Nanda Committee's conviction, that the Chairman of the Board of Governors be nominated rather than appointed by the Government of India. This change was perhaps in response to an unwritten norm at the IIMC that the Chairman of the Board of Governors should be the Chief Minister of the State, an arrangement not always found appropriate.¹⁰¹

Managing Committee

It is interesting to note in the report of the Review Committee, a return to Robbins' recommendation regarding an Executive Council. Like the Robbins Report had suggested earlier, the Nanda Committee recommended a Managing Committee consisting of "not more than 10 members of the Board--- to which "the powers of the Board, in regard to many of the routine

administrative matters may be delegated so that the Board is free to spend more of its time in reviewing the academic work".¹⁰²

Director

The only recommendation with regard to the Director's roles and privileges made by the Nanda Committee was that "all paper work should be removed from the table of the Director whose role is of creative leadership."¹⁰³

Faculty

The Review Committee recognised the dysfunctional consequences of the existing level of faculty participation in Academic Administration, albeit in muted terms. Its recommendation was that "the Institutes may have to formalise their administrative procedures as to minimise the time spent by faculty in non-academic activities".¹⁰⁴ It also spelt out as a basic principle that the "Administration should subserve the needs of teaching, learning and research."¹⁰⁵

Faculty Views

In a series of personal interviews with the immediate past and present Director of the IIMC, as well as a cross-section of the faculty, questions pertaining to the internal organisational set up of the IIMC were raised. Interviewees were requested, to comment on the continued impact of metropolitan penetration, in this sphere and the concrete ways in which the imported administrative system has helped, to maintain the influence of the metropolitan agencies over the working of the institution.

The continued influence of the metropolitan model was readily acknowledged by most interviewees. The organisation^d set up, was, moreover, perceived as a welcome break from the traditional university structures. The faculty members were however, unwilling to recognise the flexibility in the system as having contributed to effective metropolitan penetration. The most obvious outcome of flexibility in the system according to them, was the high level of faculty participation in decision-making. This fact of institutional culture was cogently stated by a senior faculty-member,

Over a period of time, a system has developed whereby the faculty reigns supreme over the process of decision-making. 106

Furthermore, a recently recruited faculty-member pointed out,

Faculty-meetings deal with the highest level decisions, all forms and groups merge into the faculty. These are the age-old conventions of Academic freedom and University Autonomy and we follow them.

At the IIMC, we have a democratic system where access to the Head is difficult. The Director is very accessible at the IIMC. The Head plays a coordinating rather than coercive role both at the levels of committees and of course at the top as Director. Moreover, access to positions of power is not decided by factors of seniority, six months after joining, the group-coordinator is selected jointly by the Director and other faculty-members of the group. The criteria for selection is ability, willingness, availability of time etc. rather than age or seniority. 107

One problem created by the participative decision-making process adopted at the IIMC, according to Director Aiyar, was delay in arriving at a consensus,

my view is that in an open system like ours where we provide for an articulation of views in our faculty meeting etc, any decision taken would necessarily be delayed, and this delay sometimes creates problems. But given the nature of our system and the way

in which it has developed, I think this is far more healthy, than unilateral decision-making. But much more important is how people feel about the Institute and whether the Institute's interest predominates when a faculty member makes any observation on matters of policy. 108

Excessive faculty-involvement in administration, led, according to another faculty-member to "laissez-faire in organisational structure". The good thing however was that.

We seem to be working and we seem to have the capacity to deal with a crisis situation. This is perhaps due to the awareness of the faculty and their cognizance that during crisis they have been able to take very correct decisions but in general correct decisions are not taken. In terms of crisis, unanimous agreement takes place. The capacity to see the least point is there, but by that time a lot of dissatisfaction and unhappiness may have been generated. 109

While such a system of crisis decision-making cannot be considered the most appropriate for a management Institute, the most dysfunctional outcome of the administrative ethos, as developed at the IIMC, was the undermining of leadership into which it has resulted. This was accepted by several faculty-members.

Summary

A review of the Administrative setup as proposed and adopted at the IIMC over the last two decades, reveals the following points of interest in relation to the penetration hypothesis. Firstly, in this phase, an attempt was clearly made by the metropolitan agencies to determine closely the administrative structure of the IIMC in patterns familiar to them at the metropolitan centres. Otherwise stated, an attempt was made to introduce through the organisational design of the IIMC an innovative administrative structure, which would contrast sharply with prevalent patterns of university administration. The proposed

organisational design would, it was anticipated, expose the inadequacy of the existing system, (based on the colonial model) and establish a precedent (based on the American model) worthy of emulation by other institutions.

It is also clear, from the above discussion that metropolitan agencies were keen to establish an institutional structure, through which they could exercise their influence more completely. For this reason, metropolitan agencies, emphasised strongly the need for flexibility in the organisation of the management Institutes. The role of the Board of Governors was seen as important in assuring public acceptability for the Institute. Their recommendations were seen as advisory rather than prescriptive. The role of the Director was envisaged as a "manager of the Institute".¹¹⁰ It was, moreover, emphasised that the Director must work in "active co-operation" with the faculty. The faculty must also participate in different ways in the academic administration of the institution. The metropolitan agencies also stressed the need for collegial and fraternal rather than hierarchical and paternalistic relationships between the Director and the faculty. There was an overall emphasis on mutual interaction between the different administrative levels, which was perceived as useful by the metropolitan agencies.

It has, however, been demonstrated in the preceding analysis, that even though metropolitan penetration was effective in terms of policy formulation and adoption, the outcomes were, substantially different from those anticipated by the metropolitan agencies. Only in terms of the Public Interest Group or the Governing Board, is it possible to observe a relatively close alignment between the processes of policy formulation, adoption and implementation. In the selection of Directors, it is suggested

the metropolitan agencies were unable to exercise their choice in the selection of the first Director. The second Director, though approved by the metropolitan agencies was rendered ineffective by the strong faculty intervention in institutional affairs. Such strident faculty participation was perhaps the least anticipated and unwelcome consequence of the importance attached by Robbins to flexibility and participative decision making at the IIMC. Thus, at each of the different levels of the administrative organisation at the IIMC, metropolitan intentions could only be partially realised. Why did this occur ?

It is clear from the above discussion that important changes in the administrative structure of the IIMC took place during the end of the collaboration phase. The reduced involvement of the MIT technical assistants was accompanied by increased faculty participation, in academic decision making and a subsequent devaluation of Directorial authority. This shift in patterns of authority was clearly reflected in the increased faculty numbers in the formal organisation chart of the institution. A corollary to this shift in power relationships at the IIMC, was decreasing metropolitan agency participation in overt decision making. It is ironical to ^{note} that the flexibility in administrative organisation so strongly advocated by the metropolitan agencies, as a means to ensure their continued influence proved counter-productive in the case of the IIMC at least.

Another reason for ineffective metropolitan penetration is that in the case of the IIMC, considerable attention was paid at the time of planning and establishment to drawing up of formal organisation charts. What was less well anticipated was the "difficult that would arise from the merger of conflicting organisational philosophies".¹¹¹ The issue not adequately addressed was that this transfer of American organisational norms was not

occurring in a vacuum. There did exist, at that time, in India well entrenched norms of organisational structure. Of course, the existing system had serious drawbacks, and of course, the planners for the IIMC wanted to make a sharp break from tradition. But they tried to do so without adequate preparation. This short coming in institutional planning is acknowledged by the technical assistants who played a key role in establishing the IIM's:

But little attention was paid to the more subtle and much more significant questions of how decisions were to be made and who was to define the premises which would be the basis for the selection of the final alternatives....Our enquiry revealed that little formal attention was given to the problem of organisation-building generally; nor was there any anticipation of the problems and conflicts centering around the internal distribution of influence. The patterns of authority and power relationships that did develop were often the consequence of a series of adhoc decisions and natural events. 112

Briefly then, it can be stated in response to the two questions posed at the outset, that while the internal organisation at the IIMC, continues to be closely influenced by the norms and structures introduced through metropolitan penetration, the ensuing administrative structure, has not helped to realise the intentions of the metropolitan agencies, in this institutional aspect. In other words, in the case of the IIMC, metropolitan penetration has not been facilitated as a result of the transfer of administrative ethos from the metropolitan institution to the peripheral one.

FINANCE

Educational aid, according to dependency theorists, is a crucial channel for effective metropolitan penetration and functions to perpetuate the dependency of peripheral societies on the centre. Based on this assumption, is the view that North American philanthropic Foundations constitute an important metropolitan agency which have shaped, through the educational programmes they fund, "the very nature of the structures linking centre and periphery in educational practice and thought".¹¹³

The following analysis will attempt to test these assertions through a closer examination of the Ford Foundations participation as a funding agency in the institutional development of the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. The focus of analysis will be on the contributions of the Ford Foundation rather than on a general description of the Institute's financial resources.

A starting assertion is that there is little doubt that the Ford Foundation played a major formative role in the planning, establishment and institutionalisation of the IIMC. Therefore, the question of interest is not, "one of influence or no influence, but rather of how such influence would be exerted and for what purpose".¹¹⁴ It is also important to examine how the participation of the Ford Foundation in decision-making at the IIMC, correlates with the actual financial contributions made by it over the last two decades.¹¹⁵ It is suggested, in this context that the measure of influence exercised by the Foundation was greater than the actual funds contributed by it. There is also a need to assess the 'real value' of the aid through an analysis of the allocation of grant funds. Furthermore, to what extent can the foundation be held responsible for helping to initiate as well as

perpetuate dependency relations between the IIMC and its institutional collaborator the SSM at MIT. It is also of interest to examine the ways in which the Ford Foundation's relationship with its grantee institution has been modified in recent years. A final point of interest in relation to the penetration² to monitor the use of its grant funds as well to be kept informed regarding the progress made by its grantee institution.

The Ford Foundation's participation in the formulation and adoption of policies related to the Indian Institute of Management Calcutta can be historically phased. The Ford Foundation played a crucial role in the planning phase in creating the environment for the taking off of the professional management movement in India. At this stage its role was that of an "entrepreneur of ideas", a catalyst and broker in the process of establishing the two Indian Institutes of Management at Calcutta and Ahmedabad. In the second phase of active collaboration with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which lasted from mid 1961 through 1968, the Ford Foundation largely participated indirectly through the American technical assistants but monitored closely the development of the grantee institution. Often, it was forced to use the 'grant carrot' to precipitate decisions which it regarded as healthy for the Institution's development. Towards the end of the collaboration phase, the Foundation took the initiative of renegotiating the collaboration arrangements between the IIMC and MIT in order that the IIMC may cut off its umbilical cord with the mother institution. It is important to recognise that it was at this very time that the Ford Foundation was considering phasing out its assistance to the IIMC. Today, the Foundation's contribution to the Institute's resource is very limited. Even so, it remains well informed of the Institute's activities and its officials continue to play an advisory role in the Institute's affairs.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Planning and Collaboration Phase

While it is historical fact that the need and importance of professional management training was acknowledged by the Indian political leadership soon after Independence,¹¹⁶ it will be argued in this section, that the Ford Foundation had an important role to play in creating an environment favourable to the institutionalisation of innovations like the Indian Institutes of Management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta.¹¹⁷ Without this crucial intervention on the part of the foundation, it is suggested, the "unique interactions and networks" cited by Dr. Chwdhry as instrumental to the success of the venture and would have been difficult to establish.¹¹⁸

It was in the mid fifties that the Ford Foundation entered the scene as catalyst and broker for the idea of professionalised managerial expertise at the top and middle levels.¹¹⁹ Several mechanisms of 'elite co-optation' were simultaneously deployed by the Ford Foundation's Indian division. Ensminger has documented in his Oral History the deliberate approach by the Foundation in this respect.

The first step, according to Ensminger, was to initiate discussions with, and convince the top Indian leadership of the importance of this project for the sake of Indian development. His success in this move is reported in his letter dated May 15, 1957 to T.M. Hill at the New York head office.

Since all three of these programmes are of such strategic importance to India's development, they have been formulated in the closest possible cooperation with the Planning Commission and the Ministers concerned. They have also been discussed with the Prime Minister and have his unqualified support.¹²⁰

A second move was to appoint two teams of American experts to study the Indian situation, make recommendations as well as to "develop" within the nation's business leaders, "a broader base of understanding and appreciation for India having a centre or centers for training in management".¹²¹ The visits of Profs. Meriam and Thurlby from Harvard, and Prof. Robbins from UCLA were sponsored for this purpose.¹²²

Another step in cultivating Indian elite groups was through the sponsorship of an Indian Study Team¹²³ to visit business schools in the United States. Members of the team were carefully selected as confirmed by an internal report.

In addition, the thirteen men, located strategically in business, universities circles and in government throughout India can be expected to give effective support to....the strengthening of this field in India.¹²⁴

A further step towards ensuring the support of the nation's Industrial elite was the sponsorship by the Ford Foundation of an Annual "Advanced Management" seminar at the picturesque resort of Srinagar in Kashmir.¹²⁵ Initially staffed by MIT, this seminar helped to further acclimatise Indian Industry towards American style professional management.

As anticipated by the Foundation, this multi-pronged strategy of elite co-optation produced the desired result. Not only was there vigorous discussion and an emerging consensus among Indian political, business and educational leaders that a professionally educated managerial cadre was India's missing link to development, but also there was little serious questioning of the Foundation's proposition that establishing a "centre or centres in Management" on the lines of American business schools was the ideal solution to the perceived problem.¹²⁶

What stands out in the Indian debates and policy formulation on the subject and is perhaps indicative of the effectiveness of the penetration mechanisms employed by the Foundation, is that the controversies and discussions emerging from the Ford Foundation sponsored were focussed not on the pros and cons of setting up institutions in India based on the American model or on the relevance of these institutions in meeting the development needs of the country. These issues of substantive concern were taken for granted. There was, it appears in this case, a relative neglect of the question, "what is to be transferred". Not surprisingly, the Indian debates on the value of professional management were both superficial and short sighted.

The dominant views (both Indian and American) on this issue were that this replication of the American management model as exemplified in its most advanced forms at Harvard and MIT was a "collaborative process that both exporters and importers judged desirable and necessary, if not inevitable."¹²⁷

Indian negotiators therefore, concentrated on the political and strategic decisions involved, of, how institutions should be set up, where should they be located, and in the case of the Ahmedabad institution who should the collaborators be. It is interesting to note that in terms of these strategic issue the role of the Foundation was much more subdued and in fact extremely responsive to the Indian demands.¹²⁸

The success of the Foundation's strategy of elite co-optation, in creating a receptive environment for the introduction of business school on the American model is clear from the foregoing analysis. Having achieved its objectives on the broader policy issues the Foundation was keen to

extend its influence over the specifics of the establishment of the management Institutes.

Choice of Collaborator

The decision to locate a management Institute in Calcutta and Ahmedabad having been made, it was necessary for the Foundation to help the Indian planners formulate and adopt a coherent policy regarding appropriate technical collaboration arrangements. The choice of institutional collaborator was, thus another important decision to be taken by the Central Ministry of Education, the State Government and the Ford Foundation prior to the establishment of the IIM's.

Patterns of decision-making regarding choice of institutional collaborators varied in the two Institutes. Specific circumstances in the Calcutta Institute, including the general indifference of the business elite to the ideal of professional management education, the preoccupation of political leaders like Humayun Kabir and Dr. B.C. Roy, and the firmly established reputation of the MIT, were responsible for the relatively undisputed choice of the Sloan School of Management of MIT as institutional collaborator and the complex negotiations with the MIT were carried out almost independently by the Ford Foundation through its offices in New York and New Delhi.¹²⁹ In the case of the IIMC then, there was relatively limited Indian involvement in the choice of institutional collaborator.

In the Ahmedabad institute, however, the situation was completely different due to the active involvement of industrialist Vikram Sarabhai in choosing to collaborate with Harvard Business School, rather than the

Graduate School of Business at UCLA, despite the strong suggestions, persuasion and defacto insistence of the Ford Foundation in the matter.¹³⁰

Faculty Renumeration

The power of the Foundation in decision making is also evident from its ability to negotiate with top Indian policy makers both at the State and Central level¹³¹ about salary scales of the Director and other faculty members at a level contravening established Indian patterns of faculty reimbursement. This was essential, according to both MIT personnel, and Foundation officials in order to recruit top quality faculty. An added incentive offered to prospective faculty members was the opportunity to engage in consulting activities one day a week in order to supplement the salaries offered. Negotiations to secure this objective were started prior to the signing of contractual arrangements and continued until the end of 1961 when compromise and agreement was reached.¹³² The Ford Foundation on MIT's advice pressed hard on this issue. This is explicitly stated in Hill's letter to Ensminger on May 8, 1961,

it must be made eminently clear to all concerned that we are interested solely in education and fully prepared to withdraw now or at any future time that we find ourselves involved in any form of political competition. On this point we are adamant, and you need have no concern about overstating the case. Much as I dislike the idea of abandoning the project, it would obviously be better to do so now than, say, two years later.¹³³

While lengthy bureaucratic procedures and some bargaining was involved, the Foundation was successful in its efforts to secure the "best possible salaries" for prospective IIMC faculty through its influence at the highest political level.¹³⁴

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Collaboration Phase

The important part played by the Ford Foundation in the planning of IIMC has already been discussed. It is interesting to note that the first major grant for the Calcutta Institute ¹³⁵ was made only after these major decisions had been taken to the satisfaction of the Ford Foundation. Thus with minimal funding, the Ford Foundation had been able to push the project ahead so far and secure the agreement of the Central Government for bearing the recurring expenses of the Institute and that of the State Government for providing land and buildings for the project.

The Ford Foundation's contribution to the Institute resources, even in this collaboration phase should be viewed within the Institute's overall financial situation. It is important to note that even at this time, the Government of West Bengal, following Robbins' recommendations agreed to meet the cost of land and building upto a sum of Rs 30 lakhs, while the Central Government had agreed to underwrite all recurring cost.

In early 1961, Professor T.M. Hill of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was invited to spend three months in Calcutta and report on the suitability of the Project. It was only after he had reported on the probable success of the project, that the Ford Foundation approved its first grant to the Ministry of Scientific research and Cultural Affairs for a sum of \$ 434,000 in June 1961.¹³⁶

The Ford Foundation's influence in decision making becomes even more interesting when we see how funds were allocated within this initial grant. The uses to which the grant was to be put were made explicit from the outset

The Ford Foundation is asked to participate in the plans by meeting the foreign exchange costs of the Institute's early years and by meeting some special costs involved in the teacher training part of the Institute's programme. The principal item here is the cost of bringing four faculty persons from MIT (initially a senior Professor who will work closely with the Institute's Director in formulating all policy, another man of the rank of Associate Professor, and two Assistant Professors) to India for a periods of at least two years each. This particular aid should extend over an estimated six year period to provide the Institute with nucleus of experienced teachers and researchers, but the aid may be phased into an initial four year period and a subsequent two year period following an evaluation of progress to date. The second major item is a programme to bring prospective Indian faculty members to the United States either for short periods of study and observation, in the case of more experienced men, or for longer periods, in the case of bright young men identified as promising long-run prospects for the Institute's faculty. This seems essential if the Indian faculty is to absorb and reflect a teaching and research philosophy consistent with the Institute's aims. Other items are a library collection, certain foreign-made equipment, and a fund to support a modest number of Institute internships for visiting faculty members from other Indian teaching institution. 137

It is important to note within this statement of the intent the emphasis on technical assistance as the "principal item" for grant expenditure. Faculty development is seen as a second major item, while it is suggested that a "modest" number of Institute internships should be paid for from this grant.

The estimated budget for the first grant directed towards "Post-graduate Training and Research in Industrial and Business management" followed closely the priorities set out in the grant action letter. An analysis of the provisions set out reveals that of the total grant of \$ 434,000, \$ 337,400, i.e. approximately 77.65% was allocated for the various services provided by MIT advisory personnel including Maintenance, international travel and settling expenses of MIT personnel, as well as local travel, and research support for MIT advisers, Short Term consultants; also included in this allocation was remuneration for other MIT and IIE professional and advisory services. The remaining \$ 97,000 i.e., only 22.35%

was allocated for the other foreign exchange requirements, of which \$ 51,000 i.e., 11.75% was allocated on books and equipments. Thus \$ 38,000 or only 8.75% of total grant was allocated in the grant to be spent on training and development of Indian faculty members as compared to \$ 337,400 or 77.65% allocated over a period of two years to meet MIT faculty demands.¹³⁸

The first supplement to this initial grant was approved on Oct. 9, 1962 and started the PA 62-520 series of grants which over the next thirteen years amounted in total to a sum of \$ 2,392,250. The allocation of Funds from the six grants constituting this series has been documented by Kamla Chowdhry,¹³⁹

1.	Long-term consultants	962,466.30
2.	Short-term consultants	189,684.90
3.	Foreign training fellowships	125,197.50
4.	Recruitment of Indian Faculty	81,808.17
5.	Imported books and equipment	226,930.42
6.	MIT backstopping	147,708.10
7.	Rupee research support for IIMC	71,710.00
8.	Development funds for physical plant	440,000.00
9.	Architectural Services	28,000.00
10.	Pre-Doctoral fellowships	24,831.28
11.	Research fellowships	12,000.00
12.	IIE administration	81,913.33
		<hr/>
		2,392,250.00
		<hr/>

An initial analysis reveals that the bias in expenditure patterns towards the technical assistance services provided by the MIT remains an important feature of this grant series too. Kamla Chowdhry in her memorandum dated Sept.17, 1975 to Harry E Wilhelm has drawn attention to the fact "that about \$ 1.15 millions were spent on long term and short term consultants and about \$ 0.12 million on IIMC faculty training abroad (approximately in the ratio of 1.10). If the category "MIT backstopping" is added to the categories on long and short term visiting consultants' expenditure, it is revealed that in real terms, \$ 1,299,859.30 or 54.33% of the total amount

was spent on technical assistance services as compared to \$ 243,836.95 or 10.19% on Indian faculty development programmes.¹⁴⁰

It should be recognised however, that the above figures are budget allocations only and because of their condensed presentation do not reflect variations in grant allocation over the collaborative phase. Such variations are more explicit when any one category of grant allocation is isolated, and the variation in amounts budgeted for that category analysed over successive grant periods. Thus, William Irelan's report on the project reveals variations on the "principal item" of expenditure, i.e., MIT advisory personnel as follows ¹⁴¹

GRANT	DATE	TOTAL	MIT
PA 61-221	19.06.1961	\$ 434,000	125,000
PA 62-520	09.10.1962	610,000	296,000
PA 62-520A	14.11.1963	300,000	-
PA 62-520B	04.02.1965	665,000	288,000
PA 62-520C	12.01.1968	278,250	140,000
PA 62-520D	05.05.1971	105,000	

These figures demonstrate the skewed nature of grant allocation which continued through most of the first seven years of the institution's establishment. It is to be noted however, that the second supplement to the original grant made no contribution towards the technical assistance services but was allocated only to support the land and buildings programme of the Institute.

Based on the above figures, it is clear that the Ford Foundation in the initial period of the IIMC in effect set up a contractual arrangement for rechannelising most of the funds allocated for the IIMC back to the United States. The pertinent question is "who was the grantee?", the IIMC or the MIT.

Given such a distribution of funds, it is questionable as to whether the IIMC was in any real sense a grantee of the Ford Foundation, or whether this initial grant was in fact made to the Sloan School of Management at MIT using the IIMC as the convenient channel, and maintaining the Foundation's image as benevolent donor. This was explicitly recognised by a Foundation expert John Coleman in a letter dated May 31, 1961 to Thomas M. Hill of MIT,

You may have heard from New York that....we have recommended that the grantee be the Ministry of Scientific Research. This preserves the appearance of an Indian grantee, an appearance which would be lost if MIT were the grantee.¹⁴²

Moreover, such excessive concentration on MIT visiting personnel was not helping to develop the Indian faculty in any concrete way and therefore its contribution in paving the path for the institution's eventual independence was minimal. Such a disproportionate bias in expenditure patterns in favour of the American technical assistance programme was also in no way conducive to encouraging the IIMC towards institutional independence from its "American parents". As pointed out by Chowdhry,

The figure also indicates a greater dependence of IIMC on MIT's greater involvement in the institution-building of IIMC. Also, I believe, these figures indicate a philosophy and a style of assistance prevalent in giving aid in the 50's and the 60's but which changed considerably in the 70's.¹⁴³

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Intermediate Phase

The post 1967 period represents an important phase in the institutional development of the IIMC. It was during this period that there occurred an important renegotiation of IIMC's relationship with its metropolitan sponsors, and consequently, a definitive shift away from the situation of

initial dependency. In sharp contrast to the Ford Foundation's role in promoting dependency of the IIMC on its institutional collaborators in the active collaboration phase, the part played by the Ford Foundation in negotiating this shift towards independence, stands out as an important refutation of the "conspiratorial" role ascribed to the foundation in perpetuating conditions of educational dependency.

After about five years of collaboration with MIT and Harvard, respectively, the Directors of the IIMC and IIMA, informed the Ford Foundation that they intended taking a more independent stand with respect to their backstopping institutions. The Foundation also decided (much to the concern of both MIT and Harvard) to support its Indian recipients on this occasion in fact, there is some evidence to show that the Foundation had a hand in directing the institutes towards this stand. As pointed out in an internal memorandum,

At that time, we were trying (with both management institutions) to wean them from a condition of total [direction] from, and dependency on the backstopping institutions to a more equal institutional relationship, and almost forced them to do business, (as it were) on this basis.¹⁴⁴

An important reason for the Foundation's encouragement to the IIMC in its shift towards independence can be located in changes within the Ford Foundation's grant policy towards the institute. Since 1965, the Foundation had, been emphasising the terminal nature of its support to the Institute. As pointed out by Ireelan,

It was envisaged that during the period of this grant the need for foreign exchange and collaboration would substantially terminate and that future assistance would be limited thereafter to additional fellowships for staff training, modest funds for library development and minimal advice and consultation from MIT.¹⁴⁵

The sharp fall in Ford Foundation grants since 1961, including allocations for MIT services are of crucial significance as they reflect in a concrete manner the shift in the Ford Foundation's policies towards both the MIT personnel and the IIMC as can be seen in the figures abstracted from report presented above. What is clear from the above figures is that the Ford Foundation's grant bias towards MIT was concentrated in the period 1961-1967 and declined steadily afterwards, as did the overall grant allocations. Since, the "principal item" of expenditure from the grant was the technical assistance services being provided by MIT, perhaps this encouragement towards "Independent development" was seen as a politically astute way of phasing out grant requirements.

The mode adopted by the Foundation officials for formalising this change in the IIMC relationship with MIT was a new Memorandum of Understanding between the IIMC and the Ford Foundation, the central feature of which was that payments from the Foundation's grant would be made at the request of the IIMC, a striking contrast to the previous position where the Indian leadership of the IIMC was not even formally required to approve the grant. The memorandum also sought to break the one to one institutional relationship the IIMC shared with the MIT, thus leaving the Institute to negotiate contractual arrangements and fellowships with other universities in the United States without the intervention or approval of the MIT. It was hoped however, that the IIMC would continue to utilise the advisory services of the MIT personnel, albeit to a limited extent.

The strong initiative taken and support provided by the Foundation's field officers in this matter is clear in the following extract from the Foundation's internal correspondence

We are convinced that the two Indian Institutions have outgrown the need for an "operational" or close supervisory participation by Harvard or MIT; the grant requests and Memoranda of Understanding were specifically written to recognize this fact and to encourage the IIM's increasing operational independence. 146

In the same letter, it is further noted,

Our grantees after all are the Indian Institutes, not the American supporting agencies....The locus of responsibility is accordingly shifting from Cambridge to India; we welcome this shift and have encouraged it.147

The strong resentment of the MIT personnel, to this action resulted in continuous pressure being applied by the MIT faculty on the Foundation's New York office to redraft the memorandum in a manner which would ensure continued MIT domination over the project. Thus, in a memorandum dated 27th Feb. 1967 to Krishna Mohan of the IIMC, Hill proposed,

We would welcome opportunity to assist in the rebuilding of the IIMC but if our assistance is wanted, would ask that we be accepted for some specified period of time as a full partner in that undertaking.

During the past two years we have had essentially no voice in IIMC policy matters. We have no desire to assume command or even to be long involved in policy making but neither do we wish to repeat our performance of being helpless passengers on a sinking ship.148

The Ford Foundation officials, however remained committed to their policy of encouraging IIMC towards independence from the American collaborators, even though at times it entailed assuming additional administrative responsibility for the Foundation, particularly, in the task of appointing academics for long term and short term visits to the institution.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Recent Phase

In the seventies, the Foundation's funding policy towards the IIMC

underwent important changes. Firstly, it became apparent with the termination of the major grant (the PA 62-520 series) that the Foundation was keen to phase out its financial support for the general institutional development of the IIMC. The Foundation, remained keen, however, to retain its influence over the grantee institution, through the sponsorship and funding of specific research projects, which were also in areas of interest being promoted by the Foundation in the States and other 'third world' countries.

For the purposes of general institutional development the only grant made by the Foundation to the IIMC in recent years (1975) was the PA 75-0492 series for \$ 300,000, out of which \$ 1,00,000 was reserved for the "Center for Management of Urban systems" being promoted by the Foundation. As acknowledged in an internal document, "this grant was in accordance with the Foundation's overall policy of reducing general support for institution-building, and of providing more focused support for a selected sector of public and management".¹⁴⁹ The subdued generosity of the Foundation in its funding of the IIMC becomes especially clear when the approved grant is compared to the proposed budget prepared by the IIMC leadership, in which a request for \$ 1273,000 was made.

Within the proposed budget prepared by the IIMC Director and colleagues, according to "a schedule of priorities currently viewed in the Institute's perspective",¹⁵⁰ the two items of major importance were (a) \$ 400,000 for campus development and \$ 300,000 for a computer system. It is indicative of the changing policies of the Foundation that both these special requests of its protegee institution were not acceded to by the Foundation. The grant, on the other hand, provided for support in library acquisitions, faculty development and short-term sabbaticals within India and abroad for Indian faculty, as well as other miscellaneous categories.

Not only so, the terminal nature of the Foundation's grant was made quite clear to the Institute's leadership, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from an inter office memorandum.

as for further general support to the IIMC, for the library or for anything else. I have told Jati that he must not count on support from the foundation. I told him that the IIMC might, on the basis of the quality of its people and performance compete successfully for funds within the Foundation's changeable programme interest, but he must not count on continuing general support. /51/

On the other hand, the Ford Foundation supported generously within this period, attempts made by individual faculty members to set up Centres of Research within the Institute to deal with particular areas of study. Particular favourites of the Foundation were (a) Centre for Entrepreneurship studies headed by Dr. Kamini Adhikari (the PA 73-0525 series) for which a grant of \$ 25,000 was made (b) Centre for Management Education systems headed by Dr. D.P. Sinha (the PA 735-0395 series) which received a grant of \$ 13,800 and (c) the Centre for Management of Urban systems headed by Dr. Satyesh Chakraborty (included in the PA 75-492 series) for which an allocation of \$ 100,000 was made. It is important to note that each of these areas of research were consistent with the Foundation's overall funding policy during this period.

Even in providing support to Centres of Research at the IIMC, which were consistent with the Foundation's overall grant policy, the Foundation personnel wished to establish quite clearly the terminal nature of such grants. Thus as Bresnan of the New York office pointed out in a letter to Ford Foundation representative in India,

We asked whether much of this was a one time expenditure, or whether much of it would be needed on a continuing basis, suggesting that if the latter were the case, we may be trying to build a system that would be perpetually dependent on outside subsidy.¹⁵²

There also took place, within this period, a marked change in the IIMC's roles as a grantee institution. In contradiction to the initially dependent position, when all grants to the IIMC had to be approved by the MIT technical assistants, the focus was now on the faculty and the Director to negotiate with the Foundation in respect of their funding requirements. It is clear, however, from the above analysis, that Ford Foundation funding remained closely tied to the priorities and policies of the Foundation rather than the identified needs of the IIMC faculty and leadership.

The Strings Attached to Grants

The degree of control exerted by the Foundation regarding the allocation of its funds, moreover, leaves little doubt that the Foundation officials monitored closely the use of their funds. This policy, it is important to note was not specific to these Indian grantees but appears to be an important aspect of the Foundation's internal policy. As pointed out by Scherz Garcia,

According to its internal regulations the foundation constantly evaluates the assistance in projects and requires minute accounting for the use of resources made available. The magnitude of these resources brings about a recognition of certain informal rights of the benefactor in the running of assisted schools and faculties.¹⁵³

The grant notification letters laid out clearly the terms and conditions under which the grant was made. One provision was that "the grant is for the specific purposes stated in the accompanying letter of grant notification and may be modified only with the Foundation's approval".¹⁵⁴ Each grant

notification letter detailed the amount of money to be spent on various institutional needs. For example, the grant notification letter 9th October, 1962 specifies quite clearly that the \$ 125,000 allocated for books, materials and equipment not available in India, should be spent "on the basis of purchase lists agreed to by the Foundation's representative in India".¹⁵⁵

In contrast to this strict position taken by the Foundation towards the IIMC, it is interesting to note that payment made by the Foundation to the MIT or IIE did not require the concurrence of the grantee.¹⁵⁶

Under the terms of the grant, it was further stipulated "Grant funds not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant and within the period stated will be returned to the Foundation".¹⁵⁷ This resulted, in the case of the IIMC, even upto recently to frantic activity by the Director and other administrative personnel to reallocate funds and extend the grant period if the funds within the grant remained unused. In matter of fact, the last grant PA 75-0492 allocated in 1975 was recently renewed to be extended upto December 31, 1983. It is also important to note the strong reaction of Ford Foundation officials to proposed modifications. Thus in 1979 Chowdhry points out in an interoffice memorandum, "There is no question of allowing IIMC to do as they like with the grant funds."¹⁵⁸

Another important condition laid down by the Foundation prior to approving a grant related to reports of institutional activity requested from the grantee. It is appropriate to quote the following section from the grant notification letter in this connection,

Written reports will be furnished to the Foundation representative named in the accompanying letter of grant notification upon completion of the project or programme for which the grant has been made. Where the period of the grant exceeds one year, interim reports will be furnished annually, in addition to the final report. These reports should contain a financial accounting by categories of expenditure, a narrative account of what was accomplished by the expenditure of the funds and reference to any publications resulting from the grant which have appeared or are in publication ¹⁵⁹

This procedural dictum of the Foundation ensured not only that the funds allocated by the Foundation were not mis-spent but also that the Foundation was kept well informed about the grantee institution's current activities. On one occasion in 1967-1968 when annual reports were delayed for about a year and a half due to administrative problems at the IIMC, the Foundation advised the Institute that no more payments could be made under the grant unless the annual reports were provided. ¹⁶⁰ Irellan comments, that it was such a position on the part of the Foundation, which led to the completion and submission of the report in March 1969. It is interesting to note that a Programme officer of the Foundation had to be sent to the Institute at this time to "assist staff in the preparation of the financial section of the report". ¹⁶¹

Ford Foundation funding, particularly, in the recent years has also remained explicitly linked with the performance of its grantee institution. Thus, in an inter office memorandum, the Ford Foundation's representative in India recommended,

Given the value of these institutions, I think the Foundation should be prepared to stick with them for the indefinite future, allowing of course for a declining scale of support and excising particular institution (e.g.) Calcutta from our portfolio if its performance is poor. ¹⁶²

Through these mechanisms of close monitoring and control, it is evident

that the general image that the Ford Foundation aimed at projecting of its grantees is "not simply that of a benevolent patron; ideally it is that of a partner with resources and competence, but one who also makes exaction and is attentive to the performance of others (the grantees)" 163

Faculty Views

During the course of personal interviews, faculty members of the IIMC were asked to comment on the perceived role of the Ford Foundation in the development of the IIMC. Most faculty members acknowledged the keen participation of the Foundation in the Institute's younger days but pointed out that, the Ford Foundation exerted little influence over institutional affairs now. Since many faculty members had been beneficiaries of the Ford Foundation's largesse for their doctoral, post-doctoral studies and short visits abroad, the value of Ford Foundation funding in faculty development was stressed. Others recognised the significance of the funds in building up the library resources of the Institute. Mostly it must be noted, the comments of the faculty members, were based on their memories of Ford Foundation funding, and were appreciative of the role of the foreign aid agency which was seen as that of a benevolent donor. When Ford Foundation direction over decision making at the IIMC, a senior faculty-member commented,

I never found that they have influenced the working or direction of the IIMC, either directly or indirectly. The only grounds of influence related to the utilization, control and mobilization of funds. Otherwise most major decision were left to the Indians, the Government of India, Board of Governors, Director etc. 164

Conclusion

The preceding discussion has outlined significant aspects of the Ford

Foundation's attempt at penetration over policy formulation and policy adoption at the IIMC. The influence of the Foundation over the IIMC's institutional development over the last two decades has been uneven. It is observed, that the Foundation took, the initiative, on several crucial issues both in its formal role as donor agency and its informal but influential role as advisor and mediator. There is little doubt, that the Foundation's personnel, were fully aware of the importance placed by the Indian leadership on the foreign exchange grants made available by the Foundation. For a long period even after the substantial grants had been made, commentators on the Institute's progress sponsored by the Foundation proposed the continuation or renewal of grant efforts by the Foundation in order to prevent the project from "collapsing". The Foundation, on its part did not hesitate to use the power given to it by the grantee institution. By threatening to withdraw its support, the Foundation was on several occasions able to manipulate or expedite decision, which its personnel or the MIT technical assistants believed to be essential for the "success" of the project. In the case of the IIMC, another general assertion which appears to be confirmed is that the strength of the Foundation was greatest in the pregrant period. Even so, the Foundation had to participate in decision making only indirectly, while taking care to ensure that the actual decisions taken were in conformity with its wishes. This was a politically sensitive task handled with considerable skill by the Foundation's Indian personnel, especially in comparison to the cultural arrogance of some of the technical assistants.

It has been suggested above however, that the skewed nature of the grant allocation policy in the initial period reduced substantially, the "real" value of the aid. The evidence documented above appears to confirm the starting hypothesis of this analysis, that the influence of the

Foundation in decision making, and in that sense, its penetration of the IIMC, was greater than the funds given by it. In the latter period, when the initiative for decision making, with respect to grant amounts were substantially reduced.

Despite the MIT's strong involvement in the early phase of IIMC's establishment, the Ford Foundation was, able to adeptly manoeuvre the institution towards a position of independence from the technical collaborators. The recent relationship between the Ford Foundation and the IIMC, has been an advisory one. Ford Foundation officials continue to take interest in the development of the Institute, particularly its choice of leadership. This has been greatly facilitated over the years by the system of reporting which the Foundation utilises to monitor the development of its grantee institution. The faculty members on the whole continue to view the support of the Ford Foundation as having been generous and crucial to the institution's successful development.

STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION

In the process of institutional transfer, it is asserted, metropolitan agencies attempt to replicate within the peripheral institution the admission procedures, academic activities, patterns of course organisation and evaluation as well^{as} policies for selection and recruitment of faculty as proposed by the metropolitan institution. The organizing question for the following analysis, is whether in the case of the IIMC, metropolitan penetration led to the formulation and adoption of policies aimed at replicating the institutional activities of the Sloan School of Management at MIT. Moreover, to what extent has indigenisation occurred in this sphere, or does the IIMC continue to follow the norms and practices established by its metropolitan sponsors ?

Admission Procedures

It has been suggested earlier that an important mechanism for cultural penetration is the influence exercised by metropolitan agencies in prescribing procedural modes for the selection and admission of candidates to the "dependent" institutions in the periphery. For the present analysis, attention is restricted to the extent to which policies relating to admission were effectively formulated and adopted at the instance of the metropolitan agencies. The suggestions of the three preparatory documents will be used to illuminate the issue.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in Planning and Collaboration Phase

The Meriam-Thurlby Report stressed the importance of careful selection of students for the graduate programme. The most important consideration

for selection should be "their (the students') promise of eventually becoming important business executives".¹⁶⁵ Among other criteria of impressive qualities outlines in the report the following are significant,

'They should be men [sic] who desire a life of action. They should be ambitious, sensible and practical. They should be men who like to work with other people not men who wish to retreat to the privacy of a study or laboratory. Above all, they should be men of excellent character and mental health, men of poise, men anxious to contribute to the progress and development of their country.¹⁶⁶

Moreover, the report stressed,

Although intelligence is obviously a requirement, it is most important that no preference be given to men with retentive memories or marked scholarly bent. ¹⁶⁷

The Meriam-Thurlby Report was, however, not particularly coherent with respect to methods of selection to be used in order to determine whether the applicant possessed the necessary qualities. It suggested, merely, that interviews as well as applications and academic records, should be used to "sort out" appropriate candidates. Preference, it argued, may be given to graduates with some business experience.

An important cautionary statement made in the report which assumes importance in the light of later developments was that,

Efforts should be made to avoid any large number from any one field of undergraduate specializing so that the members of the student body may learn from one another and that many relevant considerations can be considered in the discussion of business problems. ¹⁶⁸

The Report of the Indian Study Team made no recommendations regarding selection procedures for candidates.

The Robbins Report, in this case too, functioned as a definitive blue-print for selection procedures to be adopted. The opinions of Robbins on appropriate qualities required by a candidate concurred with the views of Prof. Meriam and Thurlby. For example, Robbins points out,

Certainly academic achievement by itself does not provide full measure, nor is high academic proficiency necessarily a safe evidence of success in management. The best applicants will show ambition, interest in working with people, sound mental health, a modest and realistic attitude toward the long-run gains to be achieved by completing the programme. Some of these attitudes can be determined by psychological tests and other by interview.¹⁶⁹

According to the Robbins report, prerequisites for the admission into the graduate programme in management should be a "recognised university degree" and "demonstrated aptitude for and interest in business management as a career". Moreover, following the Meriam-Thurlby report, this report too advocated that the selection of students must encompass a variety of disciplinary backgrounds including "engineering, mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences and the behavioural sciences".¹⁷¹

Even the Robbins report made no definitive recommendations about selection procedures suggesting only that

Applicants should be chosen after screening with all available tools, including academic records, written applications, tests and interviews.¹⁷²

The elitism inherent in such procedures was clearly stated, thus

The objective of screening should be to eliminate [sic] the unfit and less motivated student since it is clearly not possible with present knowledge to pick the winner ¹⁷³

In this aspect of policy formulation then, the penetration of the

metropolitan agencies, through the recommendations of American experts is more clear at a normative rather than institutional level. It is obvious, that the American experts had extremely coherent views as to the qualities required in a potential candidate. No doubt such views were based on their own experience in candidate selection in the United States and had little applicability to the specificity of the Indian situation. The assumption that norms of modernity are universal was questionable at the time and highly disputable now, given present debates on the subject. The Indian Study Team, on the other hand, in line with its general imitative stance had little to say in this respect. The recommendations of all three reports were scanty in terms of more definite methods of selection and it was left to the individual institutions to work out their own approach with the help of the second metropolitan agency, the institutional collaborators.

Broad principles for guiding admission procedures were agreed upon at the first meeting of the Planning Committee, held on March 16, 1961. Here, a preliminary decision had been made that the primary emphasis in the Institute would be placed on,

Research and long term residential programmes for young men normally university graduates and preferably with some business experience....In this connexion, the discussion made clear the fact that no one person wished, either to restrict admission on the basis of particular forms of university, education, or to establish admission quotas for particular classes of applicants. Clearly, the desired criteria were the quality of the individual applicants together with his satisfaction of whatever prerequisites might be appropriate to specific subject matters required by the Institute. 174

Notwithstanding the above agreement, the MIT advisers sought to lay down the criteria for selection into the Post graduate programme in their plan of development. In doing so, certain biases in selection procedures were introduced.

Thus the plan decreed :

We propose that persons admitted to this programme meet the following minimum requirements : (1) be of at least twenty-one years of age, (2) hold an approved university degree, and (3) meet approved standards of proficiency in (a) English and (b) Mathematics. If it appears that otherwise promising standards are excluded by the language and mathematics requirements, we will assist in finding or provide the means for remedial work, preference in admissions should, we believe, be given to those who either hold advanced degrees or have had work experience. In general, we feel that prior study dealing intensively with some branch of natural science, social science or engineering would afford the best preparation for our programme. In selecting from some basically qualified candidates, we would propose to make use of both interviews and objective test. In this connection, we feel that over time the Institute should place an important role in the development of selection procedures, both for academic and for business purposes. 175

The above recommendations of the advisers, incorporated certain biases towards the suitability of a candidate. Firstly, the English language ability was of a level which could not be obtained by a student coming through the mass educational system. The candidates who would possess this ability would almost certainly belong to the westernised section of Indian society, which sent its children to private or missionary owned English medium schools and colleges. An exclusion principle was thus from the outset embedded in the selection of students for the course.

The emphasis on mathematical ability, moreover, excluded those candidates not proficient in this area, but perhaps equipped with other necessary qualities and skills required for potentially good managers.

A bias was also introduced in the above recommendation towards students who did not have intensive previous specialisation in either a Social Science like Economics, or branches of the Natural Science and Engineering, thus automatically excluding the large number of students

with training in the Humanities. This bias can be related directly to the MIT's own programmes which emphasised either the basic disciplines or the natural sciences. In an indirect manner, by selecting students with such an orientation, and strengthening it further through the curricula offerings in the school, the MIT advisers were attempting a transfer of their own system.

The base for the selection of a particular student community was thus laid down by the recommendations of the MIT advisers.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Intermediate and Recent Phase

The preceding section has attempted to demonstrate the means by which the recommendations of the technical assistants led to the creation or reinforcement of "an artificially limited catchment area" ¹⁷⁶ for the selection of students to the PGP course at the IIMC. While overtly the policy denounced any form of discrimination, it has been suggested, that the criteria as laid down by the MIT consultants incorporated certain biases which would favour the selection of students with an "urban, professional and English speaking background. Of course, these are also ¹⁷⁷ the more affluent,,,"

Since the recommendations of the technical assistants, however several changes have been introduced into the admission procedures with the intention of ensuring equitable selection as well as standardisation.

Thus at the present time, it is an explicit policy of the IIM's that selection for admission to the Post graduate programme should be made on the basis of merit alone. The criteria for admission as officially stated are,

interest, aptitude and capacity for management study as indicated by previous academic records, scores on the Admission test, performance in group discussion and interview and work experience.¹⁷⁸

The relative importance given by the IIMC to the different criteria on which the eligibility of the potential student is determined is as follows:

Common admission test	60%	
Academic record	15%	
Interview and group discussion	20%	
Work experience	5%	179

The Common Admission Test is taken by aspiring candidates for all the three existing Institutes of Management. In order to ensure that no candidate is prevented from entry to the examination due to the costs of travelling to the IIM's the test is held at centres all over the country.

The Common Admission Test is an adaptation of the American Graduate Management Admission Test to the Indian conditions. The adaptation was made possible by a special Ford Foundation grant of \$ 20,000. The test is designed to assess the candidate's ability in verbal reasoning, quantitative reasoning, data interpretation, mathematical comprehension, and English knowledge and comprehension.¹⁸⁰

A further shift in the admission policy has been the reservation of 20% of the seats for candidates from the scheduled castes and tribes.¹⁸¹ This has been in response to a directive issued by the Indian government. In the case of these candidates the normally stringent admission standards are relaxed.

Moreover, in order to prevent any student from not seeking admission due to financial hardship, the Institute has also made available a number of scholarships and stipends which not only cover the tuition expenses but also contribute towards living expenses. The Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students are automatically waived tuition expenses and are paid an additional allowance for maintenance.¹⁸²

A corollary to the IIMC's policy of positive discrimination is that women candidates are allowed 12% lower marks in eligibility criteria,¹⁸³ a provision limited by the logistical difficulty that only six female candidates can be admitted per year due to shortage of hostel facilities.

It is clear from the above analysis, that metropolitan penetration, though substantial at the time of planning and establishment of the IIMC, is now less evident in the IIMC's selection procedures.

Academic Activities

The academic activities proposed for the new institution included from the outset (a) a Post graduate programme in Management (equivalent to MBA) (b) An Executive Development programme (c) a Doctoral programme (d) Research and (e) Consultancy. In the following section, an attempt will be made to analyse the ways in which metropolitan agencies have attempted to influence the processes of policy formulation and policy adoption relating to each of these institutional activities, at different phases of the institutions' development.

Policy Formulation and Adoption in the Planning and Collaboration Phase
Post graduate Programme in Management

The Meriam-Thurlby Report placed greatest priority on introducing a two year full-time programme for recent graduates.¹⁸⁴ In their opinion, it was the 'most important objective currently because it was the one, the University of Bombay has already approved in principle and (every effort must be made to ensure that it is a programme of high quality) and also because such a programme does not demand so much experience and self-confidence as the programme for business executives of considerable experience¹⁸⁵

The Report of a visit to the U.S.A. by the Indian Study Team represented the next documentary effort in the planning process. Its recommendations in relation to internal organisation were like the rest of the document purely imitative of existing practices in selected North American business schools visited by the Indian experts. It recommended as a major priority, both part-time and full-time courses leading to the award of the degree of 'Master of Management'.¹⁸⁶

Careful plans for the internal organisation of activities within the national Institute of Management were set out by the Robbins Report. In outlining appropriate policies for the proposed institution, Robbins suggested that a two year full time course modelled on the American MBA programme should form the core of the Institute's activities.¹⁸⁷ The rationale was:

this policy is indispensable for a thriving institution that aspires to research in the practice of management. The professional skills of the teacher are not developed by research effort alone, nor by occasional and intermittent attention to teaching. A vigorous and alert student body of post-graduates is essential to the development of the Institute.¹⁸⁸

This recommendation of Robbins concurred strongly with the views of Meriam-Thurlby and partially with those of the Indian Study team which had emphasised the importance of both part-time courses. Robbins, however, made no specific recommendation regarding the number of students to be taken for the course.

The "Proposed Plan of Development", prepared with assistance of the MIT technical assistants and adopted by the IIMC Board of Governors at their meeting on April 16, 1962, accepted the Post graduate programme as a core programme of the Institute. The raison d etre of the programme, as envisaged by the planners was to

expedite the preparation of young men for business leadership, partly through orderly exposure to a relevant body of organized knowledge, partly through practice in the application of that knowledge to realistic problems. That this purpose merits high priority in a developing economy we hold to be self-evident.¹⁸⁹

Curriculum

The Meriam-Thurlby Report devoted considerable attention to the curriculum problem. It prescribed in detail the subjects to be studied in both years of the Masters' Programme, and the ways in which course time should be divided. On the whole, it suggested a transfer of the American system, of course electives, with some compulsory courses to be carried on throughout the two years. The report also emphasized in some detail, the importance of devoting part of the second year to "supervised study", in which the students could work on a project or topic of interest in depth, and also get the opportunity to do some field work. It remained hesitant however about the viability of the "supervised" programme.¹⁹⁰

The important point to note about the Meriam-Thurlby Report, especially in terms of the penetration assumption, is that its recommendations for transfer of American management curricula were restricted broadly to patterns of course organisation. There was no "de jure" attempt to thrust an externally designed programme of study, though "de facto" it would probably be the case. In fact, according to the report, the two compulsory courses of study recommended for the second year, related specifically to the Indian context. Thus the report suggests,

one of the required courses would be in the area of Business responsibilities in India Society. In this broad area, the responsibilities of the businessman to his financial backers, the stock holders, to his suppliers, to his customers, to his competitors and his industry, to government and its regulatory branches would all be considered, both separately and in combination. Emphasis would be not merely on the importance of public spirit but also on the problem of balancing the many responsibilities, for social responsibilities sometimes compete with one another.¹⁹¹

It is important to note that the recommendation of the report is significant in this respect both for what it does imply and also for what it does not. Thus, the above quoted recommendation could be seen by the conspiracy theorists, as a not too subtle attempt to prescribe appropriate norms and values for Indian business bringing them more in conformity with "ethical values" associated with Western or "Capitalist" business practice.

The Report of the Indian Study Team also made fairly extensive recommendations in the area of Curriculum. At a general level, it recommended that,

both part-time and full time programmes should lead to the award

of a degree of Master of Management, each programme incorporating sufficient electives to suit the specific needs of different functional areas of management. 192

Its dependency on the metropolitan model is explicit. For example, the report continues,

the programme of the Masters' degree course in Industrial Engineering the U.S.A. is substantially on the same lines as in India. 193

The Study Team felt that alterations could be made in the management curricula in a similar manner. To facilitate the process, it set up an outline of the existing curriculum as well as the more specific curricula change it recommended. 194

The Robbins report, attempted to present in this case too, a definitive blue-print of the teaching programme of the new institution. It acknowledged the selective nature of any curricula programme by asserting that,

it must be understood that any curriculum must represent a sampling of material rather than an exhaustive treatment. The art of curriculum building lies in part in balancing the sample and in providing a teaching method appropriate to each part. 195

The question it did not seriously take up was 'who should select the appropriate sample'? The legitimacy of a foreign expert prescribing the contents of the teaching programme was not even seen as problematic. The underlying belief in the universal validity of the American management curricular practice was to remain an important part of the new institution's value-system long after Robbins' recommendations.

Not surprisingly, the Report suggested that the teaching programme in the Institute of Management should cover four major areas, i.e.

Management concepts and Practice, including the detailed study of management functions of planning, organizing, staffing, supervision and control; types of management and historical development of ideas, concepts and practices.

Major operational Areas of Enterprises -- Marketing, Production, Finance, and Personnel--viewed in their functional, institutional and historical setting.

Tools of Management Analysis, Quantitative methods of statistics, accounting operations research and synthesis, and decision-making

Environmental Influences--social, cultural, Governmental. 196

It is important, in this context, to note the confidence with which a consultant sponsored by the Ford Foundation prescribed the "parameters of valuable knowledge" in the planned institution. Processes of penetration at least at the level of formulating "what ought to be taught" were obviously operative.

In the process of Policy Adoption, the MIT technical assistants sought to supplement Robbins' recommendations with their own views on "what should be taught" in the programme. Thus, they proposed,

the curriculum designed to accomplish these ends will have as many variants as there may be designers but, in general, should exhibit the following characteristics : (1) it should have strong roots in the highly relevant disciplines of economics, the behavioural sciences, and mathematics; (2) it should emphasise heavily the applications of theory to practice in the various functional areas of management; and (3) it should be unrelentingly rigorous in its treatment of all subject matters touched upon. "Realism, or "practicality", can be achieved to some extent through various mechanisms for direct student contact with the business world but more largely by bringing reality into the classroom through a faculty knowledgeable in both theory and practice. 197

The MIT, it is important to recognise, has been considered especially strong in the areas of Basic Disciplines and Mathematics. By attempting to emphasise, similar strengths in the curriculum design of the IIMC, there

is little doubt that the MIT technical assistants, were consciously attempting to transfer to the IIMC, their own curricular biases.

Methods of Teaching

Given the relative novelty of "professionalised" management education to India in the 1950's and early 1960's, it was almost inevitable that transfer of the "how" component, i.e., pedagogy would accompany the transfer of the "what" component¹⁹⁸ curriculum of management education in the setting up of the Indian Institutes of Management.

The Meriam-Thurlby report took up with enthusiasm, the issue of pedagogy. The "basic choice" according to these consultants, was between a predominantly lecture-type institution, and one using the case-method of instruction. Its pronouncement on the subject was that "the lecture-type institution may be started sooner and more easily. It is cheaper. The administrative problems with respect to staff, students and the business community are comparatively simple and familiar".¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, "the contribution of the "case" type of institution in training men to think like business administrators"¹⁹⁹ However, it required much more effort in terms of faculty-development and case-collection.

The Report of the Indian Study Team also took up the problem of Teaching methods. Its recommendation was that while,

exclusive reliance should not be placed on any single method. Some stress should, however be laid on the case-method of instruction and early efforts made to build up Indian case-material, as foreign cases which are largely being used at present cannot give students the feel of the situation under consideration. 200

The Robbins Report recognised the significance of teaching methods in the process of metropolitan penetration. According to him,

teaching methods deserve the closest attention since they, even more than subject content, determine the success of an educational programme.²⁰¹

Moreover, in contrast to the views of Professors Meriam and Thurlby, for Robbins,

the choice is not simply between the traditional lecture-method and the case-method, each of which has its own zealous proponents. The choice is broader, including socratic, and syndicate methods;²⁰²

While the "Proposed Plan of Development", did not make any specific proposals related to choice of method adopted at the IIMC. The first annual general report, cited the variety of teaching methods used including lectures, syndicates, problem-assignments, field-studies and visits to industrial enterprises and government organisations.²⁰³

The influence of the metropolitan agencies on the formulation and adoption of policies in this aspect of institutional activity is clear. Unlike Harvard Business School which strongly advocated the case-method of instruction, the SSM at MIT kept its options open and utilised a wide range of teaching methods. It is not surprising then, that the same approach towards pedagogy would be transferred to the IIMC.

System of Evaluation

The examination system of Indian Universities has been consistently criticised by American experts, as being 'totally bad and a major block to reforming higher education'. Given this version, it is not surprising

that the preparatory documents for the management Institutes, would stress the importance of adopting an evaluation system vastly different from the ~~role~~ examination system prevalent in the Indian system of higher education. Thus, Meriam-Thurlby Report, suggested that,

examinations should not be given much weight in the final appraisal of a man's work in an individual course, but great weight should be given to the student's work in classes and in written reports,...Perhaps final examinations could be made optional with the individual instructor. 204

Not only so, according to these consultants, degrees must not be linked inextricably with success in a particular examination. Thus,

The degree should be awarded on the basis of the student's overall performance throughout the programme and should not be withheld if one second year course is failed. No one should be compelled to repeat a single course in order to obtain a degree. To emphasise training rather than grades, we would recommend against honors degrees. Such a step would encourage group work rather than individual work. 205

The Report of the Indian Study Team made no specific recommendations relating to evaluation procedures. The Robbins Report largely reiterated the recommendations of Professors Meriam and Thurlby in this respect and pointed out,

It will not suffice to award degrees or other certificates solely on the basis of final examinations. Achievement cannot be measured satisfactorily in that manner. 206

The system of evaluation adopted at the IIMC, used along with examination reports, term papers, class performances, regular tests, surprise quizzes and oral examinations as determined by individual faculty-members. Moreover, rather than use the "marks" system of Indian Universities, evaluation

was done on the basis of a nine-point grade system. A notable departure from prevalent Indian practice was thus made in the evaluation system of the IIMC at the instigation of metropolitan agencies.

In sum, it can be observed that in the case of the Post graduate programme while the MIT advisers accepted broadly the guidelines laid down by Robbins, they sought to implement in the specific aspects of the programme the patterns with which they were most familiar at the MIT. In fact, at this time of euphoria, so convinced was the MIT team leader of the possibility of replicating in the Calcutta Institute, the standards as well as institutional patterns of the Sloan School of Management, that he was willing to recommend that if in the Calcutta Institute, due to various contingent circumstances, the 'MBA' programme would initially be restricted to a year's duration, a small number of the graduating students could get direct admission into the second year of the MIT's programme in the U.S.A. 207 Thus, in the initial phase of collaboration, efforts on both the side of American technical assistants and their Indian counterparts, was to ensure Post graduate programme of the quality known at MIT.

Executive Development Programme

Another academic activity proposed for the National Institute of Management was a programme of training for already employed executive. The three preparatory documents agreed on the value of such a programme, but differed regarding the best time to start this programme.

The Meriam-Thurlby Report regarded as less viable at least at that time, a programme for already employed executives at the middle and top management level. It recommended however, that efforts should be made in

that direction by organising occasional conferences of short duration. 208

The Indian Study Team, noted in an appreciative manner the programmes, that were conducted of this nature at the MIT and recommended that efforts should be made in this direction in India. 209

Important components of the teaching programme emphasised by Robbins, were management development programme for executives at the middle and top-level. According to Robbins,

this policy will lead (1) to important service to present management, (2) to spreading a necessary understanding of the Institute's value (3) to enhancing the acceptance of its graduates and (4) to encouraging active support for research in both money contributions and opportunities for faculty and students to get materials for study. 210

The importance of including programmes for top and middle level executives were thus advocated by each of three reports. In terms of the penetration assumption, it appears, that the Indian Study team was most strongly affected by its observation of these programmes in American Universities, especially at the MIT and was willing to advocate the transfer of this programme for such reasons alone to India Universities. The Meriam-Thurlby report was uncertain of competencies available in this field among faculty members in India and therefore regarded such^a programme as important but premature. The Robbins report on the other hand emphasised the resource value of such an exercise.

The "Proposed Plan of Development" in the case of the IIMC, emphasized from the outset the importance of Executive Development programmes in the mix of institutional activities. In the first year of the Institute's

establishment four such programmes were planned. The rationale underlying this emphasis was firstly, that the Institute in the initial period lacked the physical facilities necessary for starting the core 'MBA' style programme. Secondly, as had been pointed out by the Report of the Indian Study Team, the Executive Development programmes were a specially renowned feature of the Sloan School of Management's (MIT) activities. Moreover, MIT had already been involved in the Advanced Management programme annually organised at Srinagar in India. In this case then, the emphasis on Executive Development programmes from the outset was a direct result of the MIT technical collaboration.

Fellowship Programmes

It is interesting to note the priority placed by Profs. Meriam and Thurlby to the objective of introducing a programme for teacher training in management education. As stated,

This objective should be sought from the start and should continue with the purpose of helping not only the University of Bombay but also Universities in other parts of India and in other Asian Countries. 211

However, contrary to conventional wisdom the report suggested,

We recommend against a programme for training teachers of business administration leading to a Ph.D degree. A doctoral thesis should not be the aim of the men's research, for their research training should be kept on a broad basis and directed toward obtaining realistic material on Indian Management Problems. 212

The report of the Indian Study Team, while acknowledging the existence of doctoral programmes in management in some American Universities, which

aimed "to prepare students for Academic Careers in Schools of business administration or for research positions in industry, government or other institutions",²¹³ did not make any recommendations in this area for the Indian situation.

The Robbins report, suggested that the "Institute should begin immediately towards a future time, when it shall have the faculty and resources to award the doctorate in management."²¹⁴ However it did not consider such a programme to be immediately viable and therefore did not make any detailed proposals in this respect.

No policies relating to the doctoral programme were adopted immediately after establishment at the IIMC.

Research Programme

In terms of the influence and control of the metropolitan agencies, research activities can be viewed as having a double effect depending on the way in which this activity is carried out. Thus, research devoted exclusively to advancement of fundamental knowledge, and based on conceptual tools, techniques and substantive orientation borrowed from the metropolitan universities would serve to aggravate the dependency of the new institution on its American counterparts. On the other hand, if research was grounded in the Indian environment at a real level ; i.e. not merely substitutive of foreign names and companies for Indian ones, it would have an important role to play in the industrialisation process.

While the Meriam-Thurlby report stated in unequivocal terms the value of research, it was ambiguous with respect to the appropriate

orientation of research. The obvious gaps in Indian management literature could not be ignored, therefore it suggested that "...the necessary research will have to aim at describing Indian management practices and problems", To do so, however, was not enough, the research conducted would have to be oriented towards "especially explaining and illustrating modern management techniques developed in India or adapted to Indian conditions from the management techniques developed abroad"²¹⁵. The aim of modernization was inclusive of westernization, adaptation not endogeneity was the creed of the day. This is the message one gets from a report written by American advisers, relatively more sensitive than others to the specificity of the Indian situation.²¹⁶

The orientation of the American professors was clearly, towards an approach to research with which they were most familiar. The extent to which their recommendations can be aligned with the motives of metropolitan agencies, in maintaining their influence and control over the new institution is less clear. Their recommendations appear to be based as much on the assumption that there did not exist at that moment any serious alternative to the dominant American movement in professionalized management research in India,, as on a desire to transfer to Indian soil, techniques and practices they considered important to sustain the "dependent development" of Indian industrialisation.

The Report of the Indian Study Team, demonstrated, in this case too, a lack of originality in its recommendations relating to the research role of the new institution. It suggested that the aim should be to,

undertake basic and applied research in the field management. Both

kinds of research are essential-the first to widen the frontiers of fundamental knowledge for its own sake, the second at advance knowledge with a view to its application in the solution of particular problems. Such research is all the more necessary in the Indian context, as management literature within the Indian background is very limited at present, and it is one of the basic functions of an academic institution not merely to disseminate knowledge but to advance knowledge. 217

This basic reiteration of the value of research in the management schools was clearly dependent on the values assigned to the activity by Western institutions and metropolitan agencies.

The Robbins Report on the other hand stressed strongly the "Indian" component of the research activity. In an outline of appropriate policies for the new institution, he asserted,

research programmes shall receive emphasis from the outset in order (1) to provide an appropriate atmosphere of enquiry and learning, (2) to encourage the practice of consistent creative activity among faculty members, (3) to furnish appropriate teaching materials, (4) to provide experience for advanced students under guidance in independent investigative work, and (5) to supply the basis for a systematic dissemination of useful literature to business managers and those interested in the health of the enterprise in the Indian economy. 218

In order to achieve this role, the important components of the research programme should be,

1. Collection and assessment of all available information about the Indian management setting.
2. Study of key institutional settings about which more factual or descriptive data are needed, e.g. marketing channels, financial institutions, governmental regulations etc.
3. Business case collection, centering around curriculum topics and sub topics and involving actual business situations in which problems are posed to the management. 219

A strong emphasis, can be observed, on the ways and means by which research as conducted in this institution should be related to specific needs and deficiencies in the existing literature on Indian management. The Robbins report, in this case cannot be accused of favouring increased metropolitan penetration even to the extent reflected in the Meriam-Thurlby Report and the Report of the Indian Study Team.²²⁰

The importance of Research was clearly underlined by the MIT technical assistants also in their Proposed Plan of Development which laid out policies to be adopted at the institute. So emphatic were they, regards this institutional activity that it was pointed out,

consequently, we see a compelling need for studying Indian management problems, and concur wholly with the emphasis placed in the Memorandum of Association of the Institute....It might even be held that, in the early stages, this responsibility should be regarded as paramount to that of training.²²¹

It was proposed in the Plan of Development that the research objective be achieved, firstly, by building up a faculty-base actively interested in research and secondly, by establishing a research wing in the Institute, headed by a "qualified Indian as Director of Research", accompanied by "a senior consultant from some prominent American business research organisation."²²²

Soon after establishment, a number of research projects were started at the IIMC, mostly sponsored by external organisation.

Consultancy

A prevailing norm in American business schools is the inclusion of

consultancy work as a supplementary activity within the institution's work-schedule. The purpose of such activity is to allow recruitment of talented faculty members who may otherwise not be available due to the restricted pay regulations of the Universities and other institutions of higher education. During the time of planning the National Institute of Management in India, it was not surprising that the American technical assistants would attempt to transfer the above norms as well as institutional practice into the Indian case.

Thus the Meriam-Thurlby Report supported in principle the inclusion of "compensated research or consulting as an important part of the institution's programme as well as an inducement to attract more talented faculty." 223

The Report of the Indian Study Team also supported this new method of attracting faculty, Its rationale was,

such practice would enable him to keep in touch with live business situations, or administrative problems and prevent him from becoming out of date or over-academic; in fact, it will add to his effectiveness as a teacher as well as a practical research worker, apart from the consideration that it would furnish an addition to his income. 224

Robbins' recommendation was,

the Institute may engage in contract research where there is appropriate freedom to pursue the inquiry in an objective manner and when there is full freedom to publish results as it finds them. It shall avoid research or consultation on a restrictive or private basis. 225

Considerable attention was devoted to the importance of including, consulting work in a faculty-members' work-schedule. According to the report, the importance of such activity was that it represented "one of the means of utilizing the business firms as laboratories and of promoting

this type of service in the community. The supplementary monetary value of such activity was however, not stressed within the report.

The Policy adopted at the IIMC, was that each faculty member should be allowed to spend one day a week (i.e., 54 days in a year) on consultancy work. Such efforts were viewed as enhancing the research base of the Institute as well as keeping the faculty in touch with the 'real' world of business.

The above analysis has attempted to point out the relative consistency in outlook at least in terms of 'mix' of activities between the three major preparatory documents which heralded the establishment of the Indian Institutes of Management. In effect, it was the recommendations of Robbins which were accepted almost completely by the Planning Committee. Given, the almost complete reliance on a metropolitan source, for prescribing the professional activity 'mix' to be undertaken within the institution, it can be asserted that mechanisms of penetration were effective at least at the time of policy formulation and adoption in the initial phase.

Policy formulation and Policy Adoption in the Intermediate and Recent Phase Post graduate Programme

It, has been suggested in the foregoing analysis that processes of Policy formulation, and Policy adoption, in the initial phase were closely determined by the metropolitan agencies (i.e., either through the prescription of the Ford Foundation sponsored reports or the plan of development prepared by MIT technical assistants). Within this period, the basic infrastructure for academic activities was laid at the IIMC and many of the practices and patterns adopted at the time, continue to distinguish the IIMC's functioning even today.

The continued influence of metropolitan agencies becomes apparent, through a closer look at the Curriculum offered at the IIMC in its PGP programme over the years.²²⁶ It is interesting to note, that despite important modifications over the years, the basic pattern of course-organisation has remained unchanged for nearly two decades. Thus, as originally planned, in the first year, compulsory courses cover a wide spectrum of disciplines including Behavioural Sciences, Economics, Finance, Statistics, Economic and Political History, Mathematics, Data-processing, Marketing, Personnel Management, and Industrial Relations and Operations Research. This stress on Basic disciplines and quantitative areas which are a distinctive feature of the IIMC's curriculum clearly demonstrate the continued influence of MIT technical collaboration.

The Second year programme, also continued until recently, to be patterned on the original scheme; i.e., students were expected to specialise in a functional management area of their choice, along with taking up three compulsory, and several optional courses of their choice. Since 1981, rather than offering specializations in functional management, as had been the customary practice, the Institute offers specialisation packages in the following three streams in Management-General Management, Development Management and Systems and Operations Management.²²⁷

Important changes have, however, taken place in the range of courses offered (particularly the optional courses) as well as in the detailed syllabi. The number of courses offered, have been substantially increased, and reflect a definite shift from the situation of initial dependency. Interesting innovations in this respect include courses on "Transnational Corporations and the International Economics", "Politics of Development", and several courses on "Regional and Urban Development". As noted by the Nanda Committee,²²⁸ two major revisions of syllabi have taken place, once in

1970 and again in 1980. The emphasis, in these revisions, was both to update the course-offerings as well as link them more closely to the Indian environment.

It is important to locate the processes of policy formulation and policy adoption relating to curriculum practice at the IIMC, in the context of recent debates in this field both within India and abroad. These debates have taken a varied form over the years, ranging from placid acceptance of American thought,²²⁹ to sharp criticism, regarding the irrelevance of the American approach to the needs of the Indian economy.²³⁰ The failure of prescribed curricula practice to meet sectoral needs has also²³¹ been emphasised recently. Within the IIMC, the popular response to these criticisms has been to differentiate between the 'hard' and the 'soft' in management science. Thus, as acknowledged in a recent official documents,

Further, enough of the Indian situation is not reflected in our teaching. Both stem from imperfections in the art and science of management education. Whereas quantitative techniques are relatively easy in their applicability and therefore seem universal in their application, unstructured skills mostly connected with the management of human resources are not so effectively teachable as they are culture-specific. Further even in the case of quantitative techniques the stage of development of Indian Industry does not always provide opportunities for their application immediately. ²³²

That the IIMC faculty themselves recognise this imperfection in their curricular offerings is indicative of their awareness in this respect, as well as an expression of an articulated need to move away from the situation of previous dependency.

Another lively debate pertaining to the curriculum dependency issue, is the explicit desire of the individual faculty members of the IIMC, to define a uniquely "Indian" approach to Management. To do so, an attempt

has been made to return to the wisdom of Ancient Hindu Scriptures and allied literature, which it is claimed, are more closely aligned to the Indian psyche, than the models and theories imported from the West.²³³ Ofcourse, there does not exist at the IIMC, any consensus of opinion²³⁴ regarding the veracity of this approach. Even so, the fact debates of this nature are actually taking place is itself, indicative of a significant shift away from the influence and de facto control of metropolitan agencies in the field of "curriculum".²³⁵

As regards Teaching Methods, the system adopted from the beginning continues. It is interesting to note, in the case of the IIMC, in recent years a greater usage of the case-method of instruction, which had been largely de-emphasised by the MIT technical assistants. Moreover, as noted²³⁶ by some faculty members there is a growing trend of reverting back to the traditional "lecture-method" especially in the basic disciplines.

The general mix of examination, course-work, classroom performance prescribed by the MIT advisers, continues at the IIMC. Efforts have been made in recent years, to provide supplementary help to students found weak in particular areas.

Executive Development Programme

It has been pointed out earlier that the stress laid on Executive Development programmes, from the outset at the IIMC was a direct outcome of MIT's influence. Over the years, the IIMC has continued to conduct EDP programmes as originally planned. In 1964, the IIMC also took over the staffing of the Annual AMP programme held at Kashmir, and previously staffed by MIT academics.

In the first decade, of IIMC's existence, the EDP programmes conducted remained extremely popular and well exceeded the expectations of Robbins, who had anticipated an average of 80 participants per year. The scope of the programmes was also broadened from that originally envisaged by the MIT technical assistants. However, with the end of MIT collaboration the enthusiasm of EDP participants slowly diminished, and by the Mid-seventies the programme was viewed as failing to evoke the anticipated response. ²³⁷

In recent years, the EDP programme has been supplemented by a variety of extension programmes for junior and middle level managers, as well as, in company training programmes. The IIMC staffing of the Annual AMP sponsored by the All India Management Association still continues on the lines set out by the MIT technical assistants but with a considerable broadening of perspective. ²³⁸

Fellowship Programme

It, has been noted earlier, that while the importance of a doctoral programme for enhancing the research base of the Institute as well as fulfilling the shortage of management teachers had been acknowledged from the outset, the considered opinion of the preparatory reports sponsored by the Ford Foundation, as well as the MIT technical assistants, had been to discourage the idea of establishing a doctoral level programme at the IIMC. The argument has been that such a programme was premature in the present state of institutional development.

Towards the end of the collaboration phase, a policy decision was made to institute a doctoral programme at the IIMC. Initially, it was planned to start in 1969, by which time it was hoped that the Institute would be awarded degree-granting status. ²³⁹ Owing, to failure in acquiring

the required approval, in time from the Ministry of Education, it was finally decided to start a doctoral level programme, called the Fellowship Programme in 1971.

It is important to note, that the Fellowship Programme, though established without the direct guidance of the metropolitan agencies, is closely emulative of the Ph.D programme of American Universities. In the first year, a variety of courses in basic disciplines and functional management are offered. In the second year, courses in research methodology and in the areas of specialisation specially tailored to the requirements of the individual and his proposed research work are offered.²⁴⁰ At the end of the Second year, the student submits his thesis proposal, undertakes specific research work and prepares his thesis.

In recent years, an important innovation in the Fellowship programme has been introduced. Given the IIMC's curricular strength in the basic disciplines and quantitative Areas (a result of MIT's influence) it, has been proposed that the Fellowship programme be modified to "allow for specialisation in all branches of management including the "basic disciplines".²⁴¹ This make it possible for a student, to follow a fellowship programme at the IIMC, only in Economics (or any other basic discipline) if he so wishes.

Research Programme

Metropolitan influence over the research activity at the IIMC has taken different forms over the years. At the time of establishment, both the metropolitan agencies i.e., the MIT technical assistant and the Ford Foundation consultants endorsed the value of this activity for the future development of the IIMC. However, little effort was made either by the

metropolitan agencies or their Indian counterpart, to channelise this activity in a particular direction. Given the paucity of literature, in the management field at that time all research projects and publications were considered useful.

The sponsors of research at the IIMC, in the first decade, came mostly from the private industrial sector and consequently the emphasis in research in this period was on the problems of industrial management in the private sector. In short, it can be suggested that research projects in the first decade lacked a sustained institutional focus and were taken up on an adhoc basis.

It is interesting to observe, that metropolitan influence in this sphere of institutional activity gained closer control in the second decade of the IIMC's existence. It was at this time, that previously dominant ties to the metropolitan agencies; i.e., MIT technical assistance, as well as dependence on Ford Foundation grants for general institutional development were being gradually severed. Having decided to reduce general aid as much as possible the Ford Foundation personnel sought to maintain links with their grantee institution by sponsoring specific research projects. Thus, in the period 1971-1975, IIMC witnessed the establishment of five 'centres' of research, each headed by a chosen faculty member. These centres aimed to sponsor research on particular themes and were provided funds for several ancillary services and equipments by the Ford Foundation.

The third major shift in policy formulation and adoption regarding research activity at the IIMC has taken place since 1976, when the five 'centres' for research established earlier were amalgamated under the 'Centre for Management and Development Studies. This move, was in response to the

problematic situation which had emerged as a result of the establishment of the five centres. As reported by the Ford Foundation programme officer, Kamla Chowdhry,

it seems that senior faculty used this device to develop areas of research and autonomy from institutional norms of functioning. With separate budgetary provisions, they could hire their own research staff and by pass the Research Committee. This organisational arrangement in due course created considerable tensions between faculty associated with centres and faculty not associated with centres. ²⁴²

The task of the CMDS is to sponsor research projects, as well as provide seed-money for externally sponsored founded research project, channelled through the institute. The establishment of the CMDS represents an important shift from both ^{the} previous situation of laissez-faire of the first decade, and the Ford Foundation sponsored projects of the early seventies. In 1979, a further review of the functioning of the CMDS was carried out, and explicit guidelines laid down for the future thrust of research activity. ²⁴³

Consultancy

As prescribed by the metropolitan agencies, consultancy continues as an important component of institutional activity. Following certain difficulties in the implementation of the original policies adopted, the IIMC has recently tried to streamline the consultancy activities of its faculty-members through the formulation and adoption of the following policies.

The Institute's priorities in regard to types of consultancy are: consultancy work, which will lead to interesting problems, to be

further researched/studied or lead to case materials are preferred

Routine type of consultancy i.e., job evaluation, incentive schemes, organisational structure etc., which could be of repetitive nature adding to the number and variety of experience rather than depth, these take a lower priority.

Moreover,

The institute is aiming at gradually meeting 30 to 40% of the recurring expenditure by way of consultancy income, and to see that every faculty member is engaged both in teaching and consultancy. As policy it would encourage multi-disciplinary teams, involving by turn, as many of the faculty as possible.²⁴⁴

The inclusion of consultancy in the institutional activities of the IIMC, can be viewed in itself as an important outcome of metropolitan penetration. Even today, few Indian Universities allow its members to take up consultancy. Uptil now, however, the consultancy assignments taken up at the IIMC have not met the expectations of the planners in providing²⁴⁵ an adequate interface between the institution and Industry. However, a welcome shift is the increased concern of faculty members with problems of sectoral development (Education, Agriculture etc.) as well as with the public sector Industries.

Faculty Views

An important question arising from the above discussion of policy formulation and adoption in the case of the IIMC is the extent to which it has resulted in a defacto shift in institutional priorities and interests.

Replying to this question, the present Director of the IIMC, Professor R.P. Aiyar remarked that ;

We are working towards a definition of the appropriate direction the Institute should take. You must realize that we have been operating with great success for the last twenty one years in some

areas and these areas will continue to be strong. These are the Post graduate programme, Research and Consultancy. We may rethink some of our other activities - the Training programmes, Certificate courses and Executive Development Programme in which we may be devoting too much of our time and energy.

Given one clear goal, that the research base of the Institute must be strengthened, a number of subsidiary objectives follow--- Fellowship Programmes, Research Programmes and Consultancy must be strengthened. Research is thus the key to the long term success of the Institute, seeking success as a 'Centre of Excellence'. We need to do more research and improve the quality of the research which will ultimately improve the quality of all other activities. I think, Research is the key item in my opinion. 246

To what extent was this emphasis on Research, and other institutional activities shared by the other faculty members? In the course of personal interviews, thirty five faculty members of the IIMC were asked their opinion on the extent to which they agreed with the existing programmes of the IIMC and in what specific areas did they consider a shift in emphasis necessary.

The training objectives, in terms of the Post Graduate diploma Programme, was acknowledged by all interviewees to be very successful. They were more doubtful about the emphasis given on and relative success of the other institutional activities, including the Executive Development Programme, the Fellowship Programme and Consultancy activities.

The Faculty members interviewed also agreed, almost unanimously that it was the second formal objective i.e. "research and development of indigenous management literature" which had been only partially fulfilled. What was needed according to them was,

Well planned, properly organised realistically implemented down to earth research so that Indianisation of management education was possible. Our social-psychological and cultural environment is so totally different from the West, that unless properly studied, we cannot produce realistic theories. 247

The above observation stands for, in essence, the opinion of the faculty of the IIMC regarding the important need to reorient meaningfully the research activities, of the institute. Indigenization and Relevance appear to be the priority items on the research agenda. It is to be noted that this was also one of the primary emphasis given by the Director.

The important differences, between the views of the Director, and some of the faculty members was however, that while the Director saw the Consultancy programme of the institution as an important input channel for research activity; according to some faculty members, the emphasis on consultancy was diverting important time and energy needed for the development of an indigenous management literature.

The training of management teachers for the Universities, did not appear as a high priority amongst the faculty members interviewed. The need, or greater attention to the public sector enterprises in terms of both training activities, and research did not also receive much implicit attention from the staff members.²⁴⁸

Summary

In the foregoing analysis an attempt has been made to analyse the impact of metropolitan penetration on two major aspects of the structure and organisation of the IIMC, i.e., the Admission Procedures and the Academic Activities. It has been observed, that metropolitan penetration had a formative influence on each of these activities in the planning and collaboration phase. Moreover, the policies adopted have coincided closely with the blueprint provided in the Robbins' Report. Over the years, the Institute has assumed an increasingly independent stance even in the process

of policy formulation and adoption relating to its institutional activities. The Admission policies, now adopted are substantially modified from the one's originally formulated. Moreover while the broad pattern of, course-organisation, prescribed at the time of establishment continues, many important policy changes have been introduced in this sphere. The influence of metropolitan penetration, however, remains in important ways, most noticeably in the 'mix of activities', with the stronger emphasis on research and inclusion of consultancy.

CONCLUSION

Three questions of substantive concern had been raised at the beginning of this part of the study - Firstly, in what ways have metropolitan agencies participated in the decision making processes at the IIMC. Secondly, has metropolitan penetration been successful in moulding the 'value-system' of the membership of the IIMC. And finally, to what extent has the participation of metropolitan agencies led to "external" control over the whole or partial sectors of the institution.

It has been demonstrated in the preceding discussion, that metropolitan agencies, particularly the Ford Foundation, had an important role to play in the formulation and adoption of policies at the IIMC. Indeed, the 'multi-pronged' strategy of elite co-optation, deployed by the Foundation, along with its strategic financial support can be viewed as crucial to the establishment of the institution. While the role of the Ford Foundation in the decision making processes at the IIMC has varied over, the different phases of the Institutè's development, its importance as a central project participant cannot be underestimated. The MIT as technical collaborators too, played an important role in the process of policy formulation and policy adoption in the phase of active collaboration, and have left a definitive imprint on the institutional structure of the IIMC.

In response to the second question raised, it has been argued that the 'value-system' of the IIMC, as articulated in its formal statement of goals, aims and objectives was closely defined from the outset by the Robbins Report, which also provided the blue-print for the development of other institutional activities at the IIMC. While debates relating to the appropriateness of these priorities have continued to inform IIMC's

development, an attempt at formal restatement has been made only as recently as 1978.

On the other hand, if "values" are defined more comprehensively to include the ideological orientation of individual faculty-members, as well as the institution as a whole, it will be demonstrated in the following sections, that there does not exist any consensus regarding these values at the IIMC. Far from espousing unquestioningly the 'norms' of American management education with its belief in the role of private enterprise and the capitalist doctrine, it will be seen that several faculty-members, particularly those specialising in the basic disciplines hold stridently opposing beliefs. This is reflected in the content of several courses offered at the IIMC, as well as in the research publications of individual faculty members. Thus, metropolitan penetration while effective at the level of prescription of institutional priorities, has been less successful in controlling at least partially the ideological inclinations of the IIMC faculty.²⁴⁹

Finally, it is clear from the descriptive analysis offered above, that metropolitan agencies played a strategic role in the decision making processes of the IIMC - in defining the institutional status, appropriate organisational relationships, 'mix' of institutional activities including teaching, research and consultancy and selection procedures. In each of these areas, an attempt was made to transfer to the Indian institution, the norms and practices deemed appropriate by the metropolitan agencies and closely reflecting the organisational patterns prevailing in the metropolitan institution. The impact of metropolitan agencies, it has been further observed, was most effective in the processes of policy formulation and policy adoption, in the phase of active collaboration and declined steadily

afterwards. However, as will be discussed in the next part of the study, the institutional transfer was not completely successful due to the failure of metropolitan agencies to enlist the active support of the faculty-cadre in their penetration strategy.

As predicted by the Holmesian approach, metropolitan penetration, though successful in policy formulation and policy adoption could not, due to the initial specific conditions at the Calcutta Institute, be effective in the process of policy implementation. Thus, metropolitan penetration, did not in this case lead to "inevitable external control" of the development processes of the IIMC.

Given these observations, the validity of the first set of organising assumptions of this study is called into question. No doubt, there was an attempt by the metropolitan agencies to replicate the institutional patterns of their own society. The strategic break made by the IIMC from the influence of the technical collaborators after the initial phase of collaboration, the non-compradorized outlook of an important section of its faculty and the significant though spasmodic attempts made by the institution towards the twin goals of indigenization and relevance however, help to refute the assertion of perpetual dependency through metropolitan penetration proposed earlier. However, as will be discussed in part IV of the study metropolitan penetration has left its imprint in the form of several negative outcomes at the IIMC, which continue to ^sconstrain _h optimal institutional development.

PART - III

The Role of the Comprador Elite in ensuring the practical effectiveness of Metropolitan Penetration.

Introduction

In Part II of the study, an attempt has been to analyse the power exercised by metropolitan agencies in determining the "future course of events" at the IIMC. Based on dependency theory assertions regarding the phenomenon of penetration, and clarified through the Holmesian distinction between the processes of policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation, it was concluded that while the metropolitan agencies did exercise a formative influence on the former two processes, the de facto effectiveness of metropolitan penetration could only be ensured through the successful creation of a comprador elite group within the IIMC, which in turn, was ultimately responsible for the practical implementation of policies formulated and adopted through metropolitan penetration.

The creation or reinforcement of comprador elite groups as a precondition for successful metropolitan penetration represents a fundamental dimension of the dependency argument, and also constitutes the second important assumption to be examined in this study.¹ In the following analysis, an attempt will be made to analyse the extent to which in the case of the IIMC, a strategy of elite cooptation of "compradorization" was formulated, adopted and most importantly successfully implemented by the metropolitan agencies involved.

Given the dependency perspective, a question of importance is, which particular sections of the elite would be coopted by the metropolitan agencies to ensure effective penetration or in the words of Cardoso,

who are the classes or groups who in the struggle for control are making a given structure of domination historically viable?²

It has been suggested by writers of the dependency orientation that a possible group which can be held responsible for collaborating to maintain the structures of dependence is the comprador intelligentsia of the third world.³

In the case of Ford Foundation's promotion of the professionalized management movement in India, it is important to note that the metropolitan agency's strategy of "compradorization" or elite cooptation has been directed at different "cliente classes" over different phases of the project. As discussed previously,⁴ in the planning phase, the task of the foundation was to promote an awareness amongst the political, educational and industrial leaders of India, on the "importance of India having centers to train young men and women to move into management positions".⁵ A multi-pronged strategy of elite cooptation was used by the foundation, at this juncture, to create successfully, in Chowdhry's words,

a critical mass of thousand to fifteen hundred managers in responsible positions in government and the public sector who had firsthand experience of professional schools of management and who were willing to encourage and support the beginnings of professional management education in the country.⁶

The policy decision to establish the Institutes of Management, having been made, the metropolitan agencies directed their efforts towards enlisting the active support of the relevant academic community, in whose hands lay the task of bringing to fruition the policies formulated and adopted through metropolitan penetration. Consequently, cooptation efforts of the metropolitan agencies in this phase were directed at the Administrative leadership (the Director) and the prospective faculty base of the Institute. Suitable selection, recruitment and reorientation of individuals in these two spheres were regarded as crucial in ensuring effective metropolitan penetration.

In the following analysis, an attempt will be made to review the metropolitan agencies, participation in (a) Selection and Recruitment of Director and (b) Faculty Recruitment and Training at the IIMC over different phases of the Institute's development. Since metropolitan penetration in the process of policy formulation and policy adoption regarding the former, has already been discussed in the analysis on "Administration",⁷ the point of interest in the following discussion will be the degree of success achieved by the metropolitan agencies in recruiting Directors responsive to their influence.

As regards, the strategies adopted for appropriate socialization of the faculty group or Academic base at the IIMC, an attempt will be made to examine the validity of dependency theorists' contention, that foreign training represents an important mechanism by means of which a homogenous culture reflective of and dependent on the metropolitan model can be inculcated into the value-system of the academic community thereby ensuring its loyalty to the metropolitan system.⁸ This process of influence used by metropolitan agencies is willingly accepted by the recipient scholars because of the special economic and social status benefits accorded to them in their own society. The harmony of interest criterion specified by Galtung is thus satisfied and metropolitan penetration allowed to become operational.

Based on the above assertion, if it is accepted that foreign training through scholarships was the major mechanism to be employed for "elite socialization", then the extent to which this mechanism was defacto encouraged by the metropolitan agencies can be seen as indicative of the importance placed on the process of compradorization by the metropolitan agencies. Were other means of socialization into metropolitan norms of management

education used by the metropolitan agencies. If so, can they be identified ?

In other words, the following analysis, will deal with the policies for faculty development recommended by the metropolitan agencies, and the place allotted to foreign training in these prescriptions. Moreover, in what ways did the processes of policy adoption and implementation with respect to faculty development deviate from the norms established in the process of policy formulation. Following Holmes,⁹ it is argued, that real differences may have existed in the intentions and recommendations of the metropolitan agencies in creating a comprador elite and the actual policies adopted for achieving this goal by the technical assistants and the Indian participants. Thus, while the importance of creating a critical mass of scholars for spreading the doctrine of professional management was widely accepted, at least at the level of policy formulation, it is less clear whether the policies for foreign training of faculty actually adopted and implemented at the IIMC were an adequate response to the perceived need and intentions of the metropolitan agencies.

Furthermore, it is important to take into account, Holmes' criticism of the mainstream dependency argument "that inevitably members of a central elite will form an alliance with members of the indigenous elite with shared national interests fails to draw attention to the possibility that within a national elite, there may be several groups whose real interests vary considerably",¹⁰ It is possible, following Holmes, to suggest that not all Indian Academics could be successfully coopted, and there was strong resistance to American penetration at the IIMC.

Finally, in order to assess, whether the policies for faculty development adopted and implemented at the IIMC, have in fact, led to the

creation of a comprador elite group, it is proposed to examine the "dependent-non-dependent" orientation of present faculty members through a set of specific indicators. The question of interest is whether the present faculty (or certain groups within it) continue to remain "perceptually tied"¹¹ to their metropolitan sponsors. It has been argued that if dependent in outlook, these attitudes would be reflected in their self-definition, membership of professional associations, reference groups as professionals, rewards and incentives considered necessary for their continued commitment to professional work.¹² Other indicators which are viewed as useful in this respect, include nature of research conducted, nature and variety of consultancy projects taken up and number and venues of conferences attended.

The indicators outlined above, were incorporated by the researcher into a questionnaire¹³ which was circulated amongst IIMC faculty-members. The responses to the questionnaire, along with training background and the research orientation of groups of faculty-members, have been brought together in the following analysis to allow assessment of "effective compradorization" in the present faculty base of the IIMC.

Choice of Leadership

It is central to the effectiveness of a society using a system of "indirect rule" that its organisational instruments be reliably controllable from the outside. The society thus depends greatly on appropriate socialization and education of the administrative and political classes.¹⁴

Given the importance attached by the foundation, to 'suitable leadership' in recipient institutions, it is not surprising to note in the internal correspondence of the foundation, the active interest displayed by Ford Foundation officers as well as the MIT technical assistants in the screening and selection of suitable individuals for the job.

In late 1961, K.T. Chandy, a former Director of Hindustan Lever, (a subsidiary of the multinational Lever Brothers) and a Barrister at Law by training was selected as the first Director of the IIMC. However, the limited defacto control of the Ford Foundation in Chandy's appointment is demonstrated by Ensminger's assertion in his Oral History that he felt it "inappropriate" to intervene in the selection despite being "told by India's former ambassador to the U.S.A. [that] Chandy was a card-carrying communist".¹⁵

Ensminger's statement is, however, not corroborated by the internal correspondence of the Ford Foundation, in which Chandy's appointment is welcomed by Foundation staff and the MIT technical assistants. Significantly, and in keeping with the recommendation of Robbins, one of the first activities of Mr. Chandy after appointment was to make an extended trip to the U.S.A.

Throughout the term of his office, Chandy shared administrative responsibility with the MIT project leader, and they remained co-signatories to important documents and decisions. Despite the constant interaction with MIT technical assistants and periodic visits abroad, there is little documentary evidence to suggest his effective 'cooptation' by metropolitan agencies. On the other hand, due to his widespread connections within India, and his charismatic leadership qualities, Chandy was able to build a dynamic public image for the Institute as well as set up a strong and highly talented faculty base within the Institute.

This lack of subservience to the metropolitan agencies is further demonstrated by Ensminger's recollection, that in conformity with his reputation as a "card-carrying communist".

the record is quite clear that, Chandy very purposefully recruited people with highly leftist tendencies and some known to be communists.

This began to show itself in many ways, and particularly, a growing resentment developed within the faculty to the presence of the American professors from MIT.¹⁷

Despite the explicit intentions and best efforts of the metropolitan agencies to select a "suitable" Director for the IIMC who could be socialized into "appropriate" norms of leadership, the choice of Mr. Chandy produced disappointing results in terms of the compradorization process. Metropolitan intentions were only partially realized.

The limited success achieved by the metropolitan agencies in ensuring an appropriate reorientation of the first Director, led them to play a more assertive role in the selection of his successor, Dr. Krishna Mohan, an individual with pronounced pro-American orientations.

A significant shift in attitudes of subservience towards the metropolitan agencies can be observed between the first and second Director. Thus, while Chandy in the later stages of his assignment was inclined to terminate the MIT relationship in favour of broader international contacts abroad,¹⁸ Mohan, on the other hand preferred to cling to MIT advisers for support in the face of hostility from both the entrenched power groups within the IIMC and the volatile political situation of Calcutta.¹⁹ The need for help from both the MIT and the Ford Foundation was reiterated by the new appointee himself. In a letter dated December 11, 1967 to Tom Hill at MIT, he wrote,

I am personally very anxious to sustain the relationship with MIT and I regard a long term visitor from the MIT at the Institute as essential for this objective.²⁰

However, his pro-American orientations did not popularize him with the

powerful faculty groups at the IIMC, other problems too cropped up during his tenure and within two years of Directorship he was forced to resign.

In this case, it is clear that even though the metropolitan agencies were able to secure an "appropriately" socialized Director, the anti-American institutional culture already build up at the Institute ensured that his stay was shortlived. Once again, even though policy formulation and in this case, policy adoption took place in a manner favoured by metropolitan agencies, due to circumstances beyond their control, their hopes of assuring a stable and compliant leadership for the IIMC could not be realized.

The hiatus in leadership control as described above, was moreover, not restricted to the assignment period of the first two Directors alone; rather it has been a constant feature of the IIMC's development until recently. The Ford Foundation, on its part has continued to remain informed of the leadership situation.²¹

Despite the Foundation's continued concern regarding the Institution's leadership, there is little evidence in the correspondence to indicate a comprador position on the part of successive Directors. However, most Directors, have for diplomatic reasons and in recognition of the Foundation's financial clout felt it important to maintain a cordial relationship with the Foundation. Successive Directors have also utilized the Ford Foundation grant on their trips to the U.S.A. for the purpose of recruitment of faculty. It is however, important to note that no Director of the IIMC has been able to spare the time to spend a few months in a selected American University, as had been envisaged originally by Robbins.²²

It can therefore be concluded, that as far as selection, appointment

and "effective reorientation" of the leadership at the IIMC is concerned, the intentions of the metropolitan agencies as expressed in the documents have achieved but limited success. Even so, it must be accepted that lack of stable leadership has been a major handicap in the institution's successful development.

Faculty Recruitment and Training

In the introductory analysis, along with the Director, the faculty base of the IIMC has been identified as a possible "comprador" group of instrumental value in ensuring effective metropolitan penetration. Given this assumption, policies for faculty recruitment and development can be identified as an important area for metropolitan intervention.

Policy formulation in the Planning Phase

The importance of a coherent programme of faculty development for the newly established management institutes was recognised as early as 1957, by Ford Foundation consultants Professors Meriam and Thurlby, who also suggested foreign training as the most viable approach to the problem.²³

However, the most comprehensive treatment to policies for faculty development was provided by the Robbins report, which can also be taken as the most effective statement of metropolitan intentions. After outlining the qualities considered by him to be essential in a prospective faculty member, Robbins documented various methods by which potential candidates may be prepared for assuming faculty positions.

Among the options suggested by Robbins the following may be quoted,

1. Select several mature potential faculty candidates now in teaching, industry, or government in India, for 'an intensive prearranged six to eight months' work at one United States business school where the administration and staff will guide the candidates through a special course on problems of business school....This type of programme should permit the most rapid development of leaders who are capable of 'adapting the principles and practice of the American school to Indian conditions'.
2. Long term appointments of at least one year should be sought for foreign specialists who are capable of....developing young Indian Instructors in methods and course content....
3. Search for young men in India...(who) might hold research or teaching assistant appointments for a year or two followed by Ph.D work in the United States, after which they would return to the Institutes for greater teaching and research responsibilities.
4. Recruit outstanding young Indian university graduates for long range programmes of masters 'and doctors' work in the United States coupled with work experience abroad and in India²⁴

In every instance of faculty development programmes suggested by Robbins then, it is evident that the assumption was that the key to an effective faculty position centred on how well a respective faculty member could be socialized into the theory and practice and underlying values of American Management.

Policy Adoption and Implementation in the Collaboration Phase

The actual policy to be adopted was decided by the MIT technical assistants and the Indian leadership of the IIMC. It is in the process of policy adoption for recruitment and training of faculty that there can be observed in the case of the IIMC, a significant departure from 'normal' American technical assistance practices of the period. Obviously, this deviation from the norm had important implications for the effectiveness of the elite socialization through foreign training strategy, prescribed by the Foundation.

It was accepted practice in American technical assistance programmes to the developing world in that period, that bright young graduates or freshly recruited academics would be carefully selected from the recipient country and sent to elite American universities for masters or doctoral training. It was hoped that as a result of such training,

an adaptation or socialization for instance to the United States system is expected of those who are sent on scholarships to the United States where they are trained to perform their duties with efficiency, ideological neutrality and objectivity upon their return to their country of origin.²⁵

In the IIMC, different criteria for selection and recruitment of faculty were proposed from the outset. Rather than sending young academics for further training and reorientation to the States, a heterogeneous mix of talented, high calibre faculty members were recruited from three existing sources. These sources were (a) the basic discipline departments of existing Indian universities (b) high level executives from the largely British dominated section of Indian Industry who were therefore well socialized into the norms of anglicized professional management and (c) Indians studying or teaching in management departments of American Universities.

The rationale behind this policy of faculty selection, was explained in the Minutes of a Planning Committee meeting held on March 16, 1961 at Calcutta.

It was recognised that all parties concerned including MIT and the Ford Foundation were desirous that the IIM ultimately take a place in the first rank of all institutions of its kind and that the principal means to that end was through faculty of outstanding quality. It was believed that such quality could be attained by requiring assurance with respect of each appointment that the appointee meet the standards already established at the MIT and as yet not well defined in India.²⁶

Another significant departure from conventional practice in the IIMC's faculty recruitment policy, was the bias towards appointing faculty members possessing high level qualifications in the basic disciplines and social sciences rather than those possessing a business degree.²⁶

The MIT technical assistants, along with their Indian counterparts, not only insisted on highly qualified faculty appointees, but they also actively opposed the "homogenization of outlook" objective, which could have been accomplished through common exposure to American management education. It was thus stated categorically in the proposed plan of development,

as regards the form of faculty-training, we are convinced that this must be highly flexible to permit of adaptation to the specific needs of the individual. In particular we have come to doubt the merits of sending young academicians for further education abroad unless and until they have acquired through direct exposure a good grasp of present day management problems in India. Consequently, we would plan to provide such exposure either through business internships or through, participation in business research.²⁷

The IIMC's initial faculty recruitment policies thus differed in three significant ways from conventional practice adopted in American technical collaboration programmes. Firstly, the emphasis was on selecting high calibre faculty who could hold their own amongst counterparts at MIT, rather than on recruiting relatively unknown individuals who could be groomed into norms of American management education. Secondly, these faculty members were a heterogenous mix from universities in India and abroad as well as from Indian Industry. Few of these individuals had been previously exposed to formal business education, even though they were all highly qualified in their own areas of specialization. Thirdly, and most significantly, the planners did not envisage a common "enculturation" programme to socialize them into dominant American management theory as had been attempted by their

counterparts at Ahmedabad. Further insurance against cooptation was provided through the alleged appointment by K.T. Chandy²⁹ of several faculty members of a marxist ideological orientation, who therefore regarded all American attempts at influence with perhaps unwarranted suspicion.

Initially, this strategy was extremely successful and IIMC records show a very impressive faculty base upto 1965. The policy thus had the "positive impact of an early start up of the institute's programme and high initial credibility".³⁰ Despite its initial success, the policy of faculty selection and recruitment adopted at the IIMC, was seriously flawed in that it ignored the long term need for establishing appropriate faculty development mechanisms.

Policy Adoption and Implementation in the Intermediate Phase

Events since 1965, have highlighted the myopic focus of this strategy. The instant success approach adopted at the IIMC faced serious problems in the field of faculty development, when during the last year of Chandy's leadership, faculty members dropped from 24 to 14 as senior members left to take up more prestigious appointments. This rapid drop in numbers caused concern to all project participants including the MIT and the Ford Foundation, especially due to the absence of any alternative mechanism for recruitment and training. An important dimension of this problem, was that as a result of previous emphasis on basic disciplines, the shortage in faculty was largely in the functional management areas.³¹

Even though the MIT advisers, were quick to realize the myopic focus for the initial policy adopted, they refused to accept responsibility for the ensuing crisis. Thus MIT's Dean Pounds categorically stated that the

problem of faculty shortage "existed because of the failure of the (IIMC) director to follow up on recruiting activities undertaken by MIT in the States".³² Moreover, MIT advisers at this point began to stress the importance of faculty development programmes as the "most critical element in the "Institute's prospect for success."³³

The MIT advisers were not alone in their realization of the need for a major reformulation of faculty recruitment policies. Unlike previous attempts at policy prescription this time the initiative for deciding the most appropriate strategy for tackling the problem of faculty development, was taken by the newly appointed second Director of the IIMC, Dr. Krishna Mohan. A significant shift from earlier policy can be noted in that the strategy outlined by Mohan favoured among other initiatives a regularized programme of faculty development by,

providing fellowships for doctoral work abroad and study forms of short duration (six months) for faculty recruited locally who lacked familiarity with modern management disciplines inspite of excellent academic backgrounds.³⁴

Ford Foundation support was regarded by Mohan, as indispensable for the implementation of this strategy.

Director Krishna Mohan pursued with enthusiasm his policy of rapid recruitment of faculty and was initially successful in raising faculty numbers. It is interesting to note MIT's concern at this rapid rise in the faculty base,

we doubt that the IIMC faculty can be doubled without lowering standards and or creating serious assimilation problems. A solution involving a smaller immediate increment combined with a 'major curtailment' of activities would seem to us more in

keeping with an intention to return to emphasis on quality rather than quantity.³⁵

While Mohan's strategy of increased recruitment from the States did bear some positive results, fellowship funds at the IIMC continued to be underutilized.³⁶ Several reasons have been suggested for IIMC's limited success in this field, which include inefficient planning and coordination, and an unstable institutional situation due to rapid change of leadership. The entrenched faculty groups moreover militated against a cohesive institutional outlook due to their vested power interests.

What is clearly demonstrated by the above analysis is that despite two markedly different approaches to the problem of faculty development adopted by successive Directors of the IIMC, the outcome in terms of non-compradorization has remained constant. The first strategy, it is suggested actively militated against a pro-American homogenization of outlook. On the other hand, the second strategy encouraged such an outcome, through a variety of mechanisms. Both strategies however, achieved only limited success in their attempts to ensure an adequate and qualified faculty base for the IIMC. Even after the withdrawal of technical collaboration with the MIT, and despite the strenuous efforts of director Mohan and his successors the next decade witnessed no significant change in the adhoc and contingent nature of faculty recruitment policies adopted at the IIMC.

Policy Adoption and Implementation in the Recent Phase

In 1975, a new era was ushered in at the IIMC with the phasing out of the major Ford Foundation grant, the series PA 620-520. The new grant

the PA 75-492³⁷ series was much less generous in scope, especially as regards allocation for fellowships abroad. It is ironical to note that during this phase of foreign aid withdrawal, a significant shift in attitude towards faculty recruitment was taking place at the IIMC. This shift was reported by Foundation programme officer Kamla Chowdhry to Peter F. Geithner at the Foundation's headquarters, "... (The Institute) in its recruitment of faculty is not going in for established names but for younger brighter people who have a potential".³⁸ Had this policy been successfully adopted, earlier, the largesse of the Ford Foundation could certainly have been better utilized in realizing the potential of these "younger, brighter people".³⁹

The sponsorship of younger people (including alumni) for doctoral studies in the U.S.A. as well recruitment of academics studying and working abroad continues to be an important part of IIMC's policy of faculty selection and recruitment. In recent years, this policy has been supplemented with the recruitment of fellowship diploma holders from the IIMA as well as other Indian institutions like the IIT's. Some research fellows of the IIMC, on obtaining the fellowship diplomas have also been recruited as faculty. The decisions relating to selection and recruitment rests solely on the existing faculty members of the IIMC, though formal approval from the Board of Governors is required.

Cummulatively, it can be noted that the Ford Foundation grant has been utilized for training abroad (for both long term and short term periods) 35 faculty members for a combined period of 265 months.⁴⁰

Given such a non-homogenization of outlook in the faculty, the role of the comprador elite in ensuring effective metropolitan penetration has indeed been limited at the IIMC. From the outset, the IIMC faculty have

displayed an independent outlook and at certain times, even an actively anti-American orientation. Thus, while most policies related to different institutional aspects were formulated and adopted in accordance to metropolitan prescriptions, policy implementation has diverged quite sharply from the standards established by the metropolitan agencies. Even in the later phase of active technical collaboration, the IIMC leadership, as well as the faculty took an increasingly independent stance in defining institutional priorities and the appropriate means for achieving these goals. Today, the impact of metropolitan penetration remains limited to particular strategic decisions as well as orientations inherited from the time of active collaboration. The negative outcomes of such metropolitan penetration will form the subject of discussion in the next part of the study.

The Present Situation

In the preceding analysis it has been suggested that as a result of initial decisions taken, both in choice of leadership as well as recruitment of faculty, the objective of developing a suitably socialized faculty base could only be partially realized. The underutilization of fellowship funds for foreign training coupled with an unstable leadership situation further mitigated against such an outcome. The increasingly dominant faculty "voice" in institutional activities ensured careful selection of faculty-members with an outlook congenial to that of the dominant power groups rather than one congenial to the metropolitan agency.

The question of interest, in the following section is the extent to which faculty-members at the IIMC remain "tied" to metropolitan perceptions, values and attitudes as a result of their foreign training

and experiences. An attempt will be made to answer the above question posed through an analysis of the responses received to a questionnaire circulated amongst IIMC faculty members during March-May 1983.⁴¹

The response to the circulated questionnaire was 40%, i.e., 20 out of a total of 50 faculty members returned the questionnaire. Included in this number are those faculty members who preferred to return their C.V. or "resum'e" which covered the major questions raised in the questionnaire.

The areas of specialization of faculty members who responded to the questionnaire were as follows :

Director	1
Quantitative Areas	6
Personnel and Industrial Relations	4
Development Administration	2
Behavioural Sciences	2
Finance and Control	3
Marketing	1
	<hr/>
	19
	<hr/>

An important faculty group at the IIMC, noticeable by its absence in the above distribution is the 'Environment' area faculty.⁴² Other groups are at least partially represented.

An important fact to be recognised at the outset is that an analysis based on the existing empirical evidence is likely to be biased, since only 40% of the faculty-members responded to the questionnaire. Moreover, not all the questions posed were fully answered by the respondents. This was

true, in particular, of questions relating to the conferences attended and the publications of individual faculty members, which in most cases far exceeded an easy listing in the response.

Empirical Results

A starting assertion based on empirical evidence is that at least 80% of the respondents (16) display a non-dependent orientation. The remaining 20% (4) it is suggested, have continued to remain tied in terms of professional identity and research orientation to the metropolitan centres where they had received further training. These assertions are substantiated in the following analysis on the basis of (a) Training background and (b) Indicators of professional identification and research interests of the faculty group under survey.

Previous Training

Since the causal relationship between doctoral research in the metropole and effective compradorization has been accepted for heuristic purposes, then the extent to which faculty at the IIMC continue to receive training abroad can be seen as an indicator of their dependent orientation.

Evidence collected at the IIMC,⁴³ demonstrates in this regard, an important shift towards "independence" in that fifty percent of the present faculty have completed doctoral research in Indian Universities or institutions of higher education (like the IIT's and IIM's). While some of the senior faculty included in this group have spent short or long term periods at selected foreign universities either as researchers or faculty, there is within the IIMC today, a growing base of younger scholars who have had

little or no exposure to or training in metropolitan universities.

Moreover, even in the case of foreign trained faculty, a diversity in training background is observed. Thus, thirty percent have graduated from different North American Universities, of these only one faculty member has graduated from the collaborating institution, the MIT. Fifteen percent of the other foreign trained faculty are from British Universities and the one remaining academic holds a degree from Zagreb University at Yugoslavia.

Other Indicators

Empirical evidence based on other indicators operationalized (including research interests, publication details, nature of consultancy assignments) demonstrates that while a correlation between training background and "dependent orientation" is certainly probable, it is not inevitable as asserted by the dependency theorists. The professional outlook and research orientation of an academic is based on a variety of conditions of which foreign training is but, one no doubt, influential experience.

Thus, while seventy five percent of the faculty members surveyed had been previously exposed to foreign training (either as doctoral researchers or visiting faculty) only 20% of the overall respondent group observed as being "perceptually tied" to their metropolitan counterparts. This discrepancy in faculty outlook is explained in the following analysis.

Non-Dependent Outlook

Firstly, it is clear that most of the senior faculty members in this group are highly talented and well known in their own fields of expertise.

Given India's pool of expert manpower, plus the recognition of these individuals as authorities in their field within the country there is little reason for such faculty members to pay intellectual homage to the metropolitan centres of research. This is not to suggest that these individuals live in isolation from the West, but rather that their relationship with their Western counterparts is more as equals rather than subordinates. Thus while most of them are members of professional associations abroad, they also play a central role in establishing ^{and} maintaining similar associations within India.

The research interests of the faculty members surveyed, also demonstrate ^{an} independent outlook. While many of their articles (which are voluminous in the case of senior faculty) have been published in western journals, there is no special bias towards international journals at the expense of local literature. A few faculty members have categorically stated in their response, the predominance of 'Indian' as opposed to 'foreign' publications to their credit.

Many of the publications, in recent years, display a deliberate commitment to applied rather than fundamental research aimed at developmental problems. At least two of the faculty members studied, having initially completed their doctoral research in disciplines like Social Anthropology and Political Science are now applying their expertise to fields like Industrial Relations and Development administration. Another senior faculty member belonging to the Finance and control group has been pursuing with enthusiasm the task of evolving a unique system of 'Indian Management' based on ancient Hindu texts and scriptures; that this possibility has been a topic for lively debate at the IIMC in itself denotes an important move towards "indigenization".

The consultancy projects undertaken by these faculty members are of a wide variety with a marked developmental orientation. The information on conferences attended was too generalized to be of any specific value in testing the dependency assertion.

Three of the faculty members included in this group are relatively new recruits at the IIMC whose publications and research interests do not denote a 'dependent' orientation in any explicit way. These individuals, it is important to note, have not had the 'benefit' of foreign training.

Dependent faculty outlook

The relative independence in outlook and responsiveness to developmental problems is clearly missing in 20% of the questionnaire respondents. These academics share much in common. They have all completed doctoral research in prestigious American Universities and have also had considerable teaching experience abroad. All four of these faculty members specialize in the Quantitative Areas, (a field of traditional strength due to MIT influence at the IIMC). The research records of at least two of these individuals shows an extensive concern with fundamental research in their field. One of the respondents, proudly states in his résumé that along with numerous journal articles, he has authored ten books all published by leading international publishers. The other two faculty members have a mixed publications records, having published in both Indian and international journals.

On the whole, however, this group is clearly distinguished from other faculty members surveyed, in terms of its more extensive "ties" with the metropolitan centre.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion, that within the faculty group surveyed at the IIMC, faculty orientation seem to range across the independent-dependent spectrum, with the majority of the faculty displaying an independent outlook, notwithstanding their exposure to foreign institutions, either as students or visitors. However, it is important to note that the evidence presented is constrained in important ways, due to the limited and incomplete responses received to the questionnaire circulated. There is therefore a need for a more holistic appraisal of faculty orientations at the IIMC. It is proposed that such an appraisal of faculty orientations be carried out with the help of other documentary evidence available. The recent Annual Report (1979-1984) of the Institution provides useful information regarding the training background and publications record of the existing faculty groups at the IIMC.

Overview of Faculty Orientations

An overall evaluation, based on the indicators of "previous training" and "research orientation" leads to the following observation relevant to "effective compradorization" at the IIMC, thus helping to supplement the preceding analysis based on the empirical survey.

Foreign Training

It is clear that the IIMC has retained its emphasis on highly qualified faculty of the forty nine member faculty base.⁴⁴ Thirty five academics hold a Ph.D or its equivalent qualification. Twenty five of these doctoral degrees have been acquired abroad, with the USA leading as the country most favoured for doctoral research, having produced sixteen of IIMC's faculty doctorates. The United Kingdom is seen as the next popular place, with seven doctoral

degrees to its credit. Even those faculty members holding Indian doctoral degrees have been encouraged to make either short or long term visits abroad with the objective of internationalizing their outlook.

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This predominance of foreign trained faculty at the IIMC today, demonstrates that despite the under utilization and "tapering-off" of foreign grants in recent years, the IIMC has still been able to recruit a faculty group which has enjoyed to a greater or lesser extent the benefits of foreign training, either in the U.S.A. or U.K.

However, unlike its sister institution, the IIMA, even the North American trained faculty at the IIMC do not share the "homogeneity of outlook"⁴⁵ which is best achieved through undergoing a common enculturation programme at the metropolitan institution.⁴⁶ Only two faculty members presently employed at the IIMC hold doctoral degrees from MIT, one of whom was recruited to the institution towards the completion of his studies. Other North American trained faculty members have graduated from a variety of American universities having no direct linkages with the metropolitan agencies.

Research Orientation

In the case of the IIMC, broad distinctions can be drawn between the research orientation of faculty members from the Basic disciplines, Quantitative Areas, Behavioural Sciences Group and the Functional management areas. While individuals within each of these groups, have adopted varying theoretical positions, a preliminary analysis demonstrates enough similarity in approach within each area to make this distinction legitimate for the sake of simplicity of analysis.

Publications ⁴⁷

In quantitative terms, the accent in research publication in recent year has been on journal articles. Some books and case-studies have also been published. In terms of the 'dependency hypothesis', it can be generalized that within this period itself, the research output of the IIMC in publications alone, shows a shift in orientation, output and priorities towards the goal of independent development. However, degrees of 'independence' vary between the different faculty groups and will be examined in greater detail below.

Quantitative Areas

In the area of statistics and operations research, the publications of IIMC faculty clearly exhibit a 'cosmopolitan orientation' at the expense of research of local relevance. The concern of these faculty members is with theoretical issues aimed at extending the 'frontiers of knowledge. Such was seen to be the case in at least five of the seven publications in the area in 1979-80.⁴⁸ It is not surprising to note then that four of these articles were published in Western journals. Similarly, eleven out of twelve articles in this area in 1981-82⁴⁹ were directed at fundamental research. Only two publications in this area during this period have attempted to investigate the applicability of statistical techniques to management problems. Consequently, issues of local relevance have received little attention in these publications.

Social Sciences

In contrast to the research efforts in the Quantitative areas, publications

In the Social Sciences were found based mostly on Indian data. The choice of themes for research has been wide-ranging reflecting the faculty - members' concern with wider societal issues.

Economics

According to Chossudovsky, Economists as a group are particularly vulnerable to the influence of 'metropolitan models' in legitimizing within the dependent society "theories, formulae, quantitative techniques and explanations of casuality"..... based on the implicit interests of the rich nations in alliance with the dependent bourgeoisie and ruling elites in poor countries.⁵⁰

The research publications of the IIMC's Economics faculty provide an important refutation of this contention of the dependency theorists. Publications in the Economics field at the IIMC have been based mostly on Indian data. Moreover, the concern of these writers is not with purely theoretical or methodological issues as predicted by the dependency theorists, but ranges across the spectrum of the Indian society and its development problems. Even if the publications are not directly policy oriented, at least there is discernible an attempt to grapple at the fundamental issues underlying Indian economic development/underdevelopment, significantly, it must be added from a Marxist or Neo-marxist theoretical position.

Moreover, unlike their colleagues in the Quantitative areas these faculty members are less inclined towards publication in foreign journals. These scholars have made the largest contribution within this period to the leading Indian Social Science journal, the 'Economic and Political Weekly', which enjoys no doubts, a wide circulation both within India and

abroad. Based on the above evidence, it can be clearly stated that the research orientation of the Economics faculty at the IIMC is distinctly non-dependent.

However, having acknowledged the 'independent' research orientation of the Economics publications at the IIMC, the question which remains unresolved, is the 'relevance' of this research in terms IIMC's research objective. A preliminary analysis reveals a noticeable absence of policy guidelines and prescription in the articles published. The concern of these writers is with theoretical issues, accompanied by an attack on the existing socio-economic and political status quo. Such research is no doubt, intrinsically valuable, ^{How} far it contributes to the relevance objective is less clear.

Other Social Sciences

Like their counterparts in the Economics group, other faculty members in the IIMC specialising in social sciences like Politics, Sociology and Law display a non-dependent orientation. The research has also been based mostly on Indian data. The choice of themes for research in this area too, has been wideranging. A welcome shift, from dominant practice, as noticed in the period under review has been the attempt to apply disciplinary tools and interpretations to managerial problems. Such a practice if continued will help overcome the rigid boundaries between basic and applied research as existing at the IIMC today.

Functional Management

Quantitatively, the research publications of this faculty group equals

that of the Basic disciplines and Quantitative areas. The accent in these publications, is however on textbooks and readers rather than on journal articles or case-studies.

The independent orientation of this research output is however less clear. For example, while the books published by the IIMC faculty appear on preliminary analysis to be textbooks written with the Indian student community in mind, only three of the nine books published in 1979 - 80⁵¹ were specifically related to the Indian managerial environment. Only one textbook on 'Financial Management' explicitly included case-studies. Of the four books published in this area in 1981 - 82,⁵² two were concerned with a comparative analysis of 'Workers' Self - Management and Participation' in different countries.

The journal articles published by IIMC management faculty members, within this period, display no particular bias towards publication in foreign journals. A significant shift in orientation is also noted within this period, in terms of topic selection. While in 1979-80, the concentration of articles was in the 'Marketing Area',⁵³ in 1981-82⁵⁴ the articles published displayed a much wider perspective in terms of topic selection, including analysis of the Public sector industries, Agrarian systems, Rural development as well as research into the Managerial styles of Indian family business.

Non-dependent Orientation

The degree of 'independence' displayed in the research publications of the IIMC varies between the different areas. The Quantitative area specialists appear to have retained the fundamental research orientations

inherited from their metropolitan counterparts at the MIT. This bias accounts for their penchant for publication in foreign journals. The social scientists, on the other hand, display a radically independent outlook giving little credence to the prediction of the dependency theorists on this account. The functional management faculty seem to have adopted a middle - ranging position. While the shift from dependency is clear, in their concern for sectoral development needs, their ideological position is clearly not supportive of radical revolution.

Given the varied ideological orientations of the research publications of the IIMC members, it is difficult to explain the existing shortcomings purely in relation to the dependency thesis. Rather, the impression one gets from the research publications record of the IIMC is that individual faculty members, have in the past and continue in the present, to pursue research activities, based on their interest, area of specialization and past training.

Moreover there seems little institutional direction or coordination in this effort with the result that some of the publications while intrinsically valuable, are esoteric to institutional objectives. Thus rather than gearing their research efforts to the dictates of their neocolonial masters as suggested by the dependency theorists, the faculty members of the IIMC, have been undertaking high quality research aimed at intellectual interaction with their peer-groups both in India and abroad. This inclination is more evident in the basic discipline and quantitative areas. In the applied management areas the recent commitment to problems of Indian management is more explicit.

Conclusion

In the preceding analysis, an attempt has been made to examine the validity of the second organizing assumption of the study, which focuses of the instrumental role played by the "comprador" elite in ensuring effective metropolitan penetration. It has been argued in the dependency discourse, that the academic elite of the host country is particularly vulnerable to metropolitan penetration, especially when offered the opportunity for career advancement through foreign training in the metropolitan country. In the context of the present study, the academic leadership as well as the faculty base of the IIMC have been identified as two groups vulnerable to processes of comprador enlistment if mobilized by the metropolitan agencies.

It has been demonstrated quite clearly in the foregoing analysis that metropolitan intentions of securing either a compliant leadership or faculty base at the IIMC could only be partially realized.

There is little doubt regarding the intentions of the metropolitan agencies for recruitment of an appropriately socialized administrative leadership as well as faculty base at the IIMC. The Robbins Report provided the necessary endorsement to an item which had always been accorded a place of importance in the Ford Foundation's agenda.

As far as ensuing compliant leadership at the IIMC was concerned, it has been demonstrated in the above analysis that despite the active involvement of the metropolitan agencies in the selection and recruitment of successive Directors of the IIMC, their efforts have met with only limited success. Even so, the Foundation, has continued to remain concerned regarding

the rapidly changing leadership situation at the IIMC.

Since 1965, due to the reduced leadership of Chandy in the later part of his assignment, the departure of several faculty-members recruited from the United States, and an uncertain political environment at Calcutta, the IIMC witnessed an increased factionalism within its faculty ranks. An influential faction of this group exhibited an aggressively Anti-American orientation. Moreover, the leadership vacuum enhanced the already active faculty participation in institutional decision-making. Thus, even when the Ford Foundation, after considerable effort succeeded in having Dr. Krishna Mohan appointed an successor to Chandy, his tenure was shortlived due to active opposition from the alienated faculty groups within the IIMC. There can also be observed, in this period strong resistance to MIT penetration at the IIMC.⁵⁵ The MIT technical assistants however remained keen to retain close links with the IIMC at whatever cost. This is demonstrated in their reluctance to break ties with the IIMC.⁵⁶

The "non-comprador" institutional culture developed, at the IIMC from the time of active collaboration has continued to distinguish the institution's subsequent development. Today, more than two decades after establishment, the impact of metropolitan penetration on this institutional aspect is indeed limited and only continues in the shape of certain biases and research orientations which inform the work of individual faculty members. Having not had the benefit of a homogenous faculty base trained at the metropolitan institution even at the time of active collaboration or soon thereafter, the IIMC continues to enjoy a heterogeneous mix of faculty members displaying a diversity of outlook and interests.

Another interesting refutation of the dependency theorists' contention

provided by the case-study of the IIMC, is that foreign training cannot causally^{be} linked to the creation of a comprador elite. This has been demonstrated to a limited extent by the empirical survey, in which it was shown that while 75% of the faculty members were exposed to foreign institutions of higher education (not necessarily in the United States) only 20% displayed a demonstrably dependent orientation. In terms of the overall faculty base, 50% of the present faculty hold degrees from foreign Universities with the USA leading as the country most favoured for foreign training only faculty members however hold degrees from the USA.

Another point of interest is that all faculty members displaying a dependent orientation belonged to the Quantitative Areas group. The last finding was once again confirmed in the overall evaluation of faculty orientations based on the publications record of groups of faculty members, where it was seen that while the Economics and other social science faculty displayed a radically independent outlook, the quantitative areas faculty continued to reflect a cosmopolitan and fundamental rather than applied orientation in their work.

However, the independent stance adopted at the IIMC has not been unproblematic. A major institutional drawback provoked as a result of myopic faculty development policies, has been the creation of major factional divisions within the faculty. Such fragmentation within the institution, when combined with strident faculty participation in decision making has prevented cohesive institutional development. In short, while policy implementation^{has differed from guidelines} outlined by the metropolitan agencies, the IIMC has also been handicapped by a fragmented faculty outlook, leading to delayed decision making and spasmodic bouts of institutional development. IIMC's experiences in this field are especially highlighted when viewed in comparison

to the parallel development of its sister institution, the IIMA.

The initial policies adopted by the Harvard technical assistants at the IIMA facilitated a stable faculty development even though the explicit aim of this policy was to indoctrinate the fellowship holders into Harvards approach to business education. The value of such a strategy is pointed out by Harvard's project leader, Warren Haynes,

in my opinion, the fact that almost all of the Ahmedabad faculty will have spent some time at Harvard provides a unity and sense of direction which has contributed to a more rapid progress than would have been possible otherwise. Over the years Harvard has developed a point of view about management education. This is not the only point of view possible but it has provided a central core of ideas which has been the basis of Ahmedabad's curriculum planning.⁵⁷

IIMA's faculty development policies, moreover, were prevented from being entrenched too firmly in Harvard's camp, by the aggressive diversification of outlook strategy adopted by the first full time Director Ravi Matthai. The cumulative result of this combination of policies was thus a more balanced as well as stable outlook in faculty development.

This contrast in the defacto policies, adopted and their mode of implementation at the two sister institutions provides an interesting refutation of ~~a~~ major contention of the dependency theorists. The argument in this case is that if the IIMC faculty members had undergone a common training programme approach to management education then there would have existed greater cohesion amongst them. The non-utilization of Ford Foundation funds for foreign training appears to have had a detrimental effect on the independent development of the Institute. This would clearly be ideologically unacceptable to dependency theorists, who operationalize as an indicator of cultural dependency the number of foreign trained and

therefore necessarily compradorized scholars in a peripheral country.

As regards, effective "compradorization" of the IIMC faculty base, it is observed that in the case of the IIMC, processes of policy adoption and policy implementation diverged sharply from Robbins's recommendations. This departure from Robbins prescription can be viewed as largely an outcome of the intervention of the MIT technical assistants. It is interesting to note, that while the technical assistants involved, accepted the Robbins Report as a blueprint for future development as regards most institutional aspects, their views on faculty development policies differed substantially from those proposed by Robbins. The MIT technical assistants, were keen to establish as soon as possible at Calcutta an institution replicating as closely as possible the qualitative standards established at the metropolitan institution. The selection of a highly talented faculty base, recruited from all available sources and specializing in areas of traditional strength at the MIT was regarded as a high priority item on the technical assistants agenda. In fact, as pointed out above, the "homogenization of outlook" objective, was rejected in no uncertain terms. The conviction of MIT technical assistants in this respect was reinforced by their real interest which was to divert as much of the Ford Foundation grant as possible towards consolidating their own position at the IIMC, hence the heavy bias towards technical assistance funds rather than fellowship grants. Given this orientation, policies for faculty development adopted at the IIMC were not conducive to the creation of a comprador faculty group. The situation was further, exacerbated as a result of Chandy's recruitment of several highly talented marxist scholars, who soon assumed a position of power at the IIMC. As a result the outcome, intended by the Ford Foundation, i.e., the creation of a suitable comprador faculty, sharing a commonality of approach and appreciation of American management culture, could not, from the outset be achieved at the IIMC.

PART - IV

Encapsulation, Marginalisation, Fragmentation and Low Developmental
Orientation : The Consequences of Metropolitan Penetration.

Introduction

In Part II and III of the study, an attempt has been made to analyse the external linkages and relationships which have to a greater or lesser extent, determined the IIMC's dependency on its metropolitan sponsors, the Ford Foundation and the MIT. It has been argued, that due to the limited success of the metropolitan agencies in creating a "comprador" leadership and faculty base within the IIMC, dependency links between the central and peripheral institution could only be partially sustained. Nonetheless, there is little doubt, that metropolitan penetration has affected the structural development of the IIMC in important ways. In this part of the study, the focus of analysis will be on the negative consequences of metropolitan penetration on the subsequent institutional development of the IIMC.

An important contention of dependency theorists is that "external links and relationships have exercised a fundamental influence on the shaping of the structure of our systems [indigenous institutions] and therefore on their functioning and outcome as well as processes of structural transformation".¹ Moreover it is argued that processes of penetration and dependency promote and are promoted by a kind of dependent growth which is marked by its own internal contradictions as well as structural limitations.²

Thus, the "central issue" as stated by Mahler,

is not so much that a dependency relationship infringes upon the autonomy of subordinate LDC's but that it infringes upon it in a manner whereby some value is achieved or retained by the dominant country (or at least the dominant groups within that country) and surrendered ~~by~~^{or} foregone by the subordinate country (or at least the subordinate groups within it). 3 3

In other words, within the dependency literature, the outcome^s of metropolitan penetration ~~are~~^{is} viewed as being detrimental to the future well-being of the peripheral society.

In a situation of educational dependency, the concept of structural limitations refers to the constraints and difficulties created or reinforced within the higher education system as a consequence of metropolitan penetration. These limitations, it is argued, become even more evident when the initial euphoria of collaboration and foreign assistance has cooled down, and the transferred institution, through the processes of indigenization, comes to term more closely with its own environment.

Moreover, as Shukla points out, "an inevitable consequence is that institutions of higher learning do not experience that process of cumulative intellectual growth that would otherwise result. On the contrary, a certain climate of despondency and demoralization grows which serves to operate the whole educational system as a merely auxiliary reserve and source of unfinished manpower for the knowledge skill system of the developed countries."⁴

The specific structural limitations introduced into the functioning of a peripheral institution as a consequence of metropolitan penetration have been conceptualized in the dependency literature as Encapsulation,⁵ Marginalization, Fragmentation and Low developmental Orientation. The following sections will discuss in detail whether each of these outcomes can in fact, be observed at the IIMC, and to what extent can a causal relationship be established between each of these outcomes and the processes of metropolitan penetration. Moreover, having overcome its initial dependency, what efforts have been made by the now independent institution to overcome the structural limitations introduced into its functioning as a consequence of metropolitan penetration.

ENCAPSULATION

The class nature of American philanthropy has resulted in an approach to third world development supportive of the centres of world capitalism, particularly the United States. The Foundation's conservatism has effectively precluded the Search for models that might benefit more than do existing schemes, but are perceived as threatening to the world capitalist system. That has meant that the potential value of developmental models directed by Third-World masses has been minimized by the foundations, Elite-directed planning has formed a stable of foundation activity from the beginning. This reflects the foundations' belief that societies are better led by the few than the many, more especially when those few receive the foundation's imprimatur.

This approach raises a fundamental question : Who benefits from this arrangement whereby the few determine what is in the best interests of the many. 6

A central mechanism, according to writers of the dependency orientation, by which inequities are reinforced within the peripheral society, is through the setting up of elite institutions of higher education, directly sponsored by metropolitan agencies and drawing heavily on foreign expertise. Dependency literature suggests that such institutions form part of the enclave sector of the peripheral society, which despite its physical location in the periphery maintains a close though subordinate relationship with the metropolitan centre. Such institutions, due to their enclave orientation⁷ continue to function in a manner whereby existing inequalities within the system are reinforced or further aggravated, even after formal withdrawal of foreign aid.⁸

The organizing question for the following analysis is the extent to which metropolitan penetration has succeeded in creating an "encapsulated" institution at the IIMC. A series of indicators can be outlined on the basis of which IIMC's enclave orientation if existing, can be assessed. These indices include the physical facilities including the location of the Institute, the restrictions imposed on selection and admission of candidates,

the placement of graduating students as well as other infrastructural facilities available which help to create⁸ reinforce the "encapsulated" character of the Institution.

Location Arrangements

The IIMC⁷ today occupies an impressive stretch of land, ranging over 135 acres, fifteen miles from the centre of Calcutta. Both the MIT advisers and the Ford Foundation personnel played an instrumental role in negotiating locational arrangement for the IIMC.⁹

Clearly, the approach for the metropolitan agencies was to replicate as closely as possible⁸ an American style university campus, an important feature of which would be ample campus space, residential facilities, for both students and staff and a site far removed from the congested surroundings of the city of Calcutta. After considerable negotiations, bargaining and some additional funds from the donor agency, the wishes of the metropolitan agency were upheld.¹⁰ The Government of West Bengal, finally made available 135 acres of land, after which the process of campus construction was started.

It is argued in this analysis that by attempting to insist on transfer of the logistical location arrangements of the American campus university, unanticipated difficulties have arisen which have inhibited institutional development in important ways. It is recognised of course, that no all such difficulties can be causally linked to metropolitan penetration, but one can only speculate on what the outcomes of other locational arrangements then proposed, could be.

A major way in which decision regarding location arrangement have affected the IIMC's development is the time delay resulting there from.

Unlike its sister institution, the IIMA which completed campus construction, by 1971, the IIMC was only able to shift its campus only in 1975, fourteen years since the date of establishment. Even at the time when the investigator last visited the IIMC's campus, construction was still in progress; accommodation facilities for students were restricted; especially notable is the fact that accommodation facilities were available for only nine female students. The limited facilities were thus found to be reinforcing the elitism as well as sex bias of the institution, since hostel facilities for all selected candidates could not be provided. Other programmes of the Institute too, as noted by several faculty members interviewed, were hampered by the lack of proper physical facilities.¹¹

Another important outcome of the location decision has been the insulation of the institute from its immediate environment. Moreover, such an insulation may have been useful, in realizing metropolitan intentions had the campus been a self sufficient unit. The contradiction that has resulted in the case of IIMC is that while the institute is located in pleasant surroundings with ample spaciousness, most faculty members including the present director have to commute everyday from the residential quarters allotted to them all over the city of Calcutta. While the transport facilities are provided by the Institute, the daily lengthy journey, across the congested city roads has dampened the enthusiasm of some faculty members. Furthermore, the Joka campus is also some distance from the IIMC's city office, where certain evening course are conducted, and the shuttling between two offices and their homes in the city was not congenial to some faculty members interviewed.¹² Others complained that coming to the IIMC everyday, meant that their involvements like consultancy work which required either travelling out of town or working in the city was hampered. In general then, there was dissatisfaction expressed by several faculty members

on the location arrangement of the Institute. One of the senior faculty members commented in this context, that he wished that the Ford Foundation had not pursued so aggressively the idea of an exclusive campus, but had rather agreed to a central location in Calcutta available at the time of establishment.¹³

The "insulation effect" created by the location was also seen by some faculty members as hampering the educational work of the Institute. Even though the Institute is richly endowed with both library resources and computer facilities, occasional difficulties do arise due to limited contact with the resources of the university and other institutes like Indian statistical Institute located in the Calcutta region. The location of the Institute also inhibits mutual sharing of expertise and resources between the business management department of Calcutta university and the Institute, further reinforcing the latter's elitism. Faculty members at the IIMC, it must be noted, did not however see the latter issue as a difficulty.¹⁴

In sum, it can be observed that the setting up of location arrangements in a manner congenial to the metropolitan agencies has resulted in certain logistical as well as educational difficulties. There is little doubt, that if the campus development difficulties had been resolved earlier, the IIMC like the IIMA would have progressed faster on its path to independent development.

Selection Procedures

Foreign assistance to the measure in which it is concentrated.... generates an impregnable condition of elitism. The location of these institutes in the metropolitan areas sets in motion a chain-reaction, tending towards elitist predominance. Starting

with the catchment area, the urban bias has resulted in recruitment of students mostly from higher income groups. ¹⁵

An important subject of debate in Indian higher education today is the extent to which institutions like the Indian Institutes of Management, the Agricultural Universities and the Indian Institutes of Technology¹⁶ have reinforced through their selection processes elitist divisions within Indian society. Moreover, to what extent can such elitism in selection be related to the influence of donor agencies. Ganesh and Sarupia suggest that,

the sorting out process implicit in the MIT and the business school models, in particular, when imposed on the Indian socio-economic milieu has aggravated the isolation of the elites from the realities of the country as well as brought about increased dependence on the West. ¹⁷

Several studies have been conducted on the issue of elitism in the above named institutions. Among the more recent is the study by Ganesh and Sarupia.¹⁸ Their analysis is substantiated with the help of admission data from the Indian Institute of Technology at Bombay and demonstrates the relative concentration of successful candidates from the urban centres of particular geographical areas. It also demonstrated the dominance of male candidates (97.57% compared to 2.43% female students). The largest percentage of students (28.12%) also came from families with the highest annual income (above Rs 25,000).¹⁹

Arguing from a theoretical position which ignores any linkages between the initial dependency and the elitist outcomes of selection procedures, Sharma²⁰ has analysed admission data related more specifically to one of the Indian Institutes of Management from 1968-1971. He notes that the trend towards rich students gaining admission more easily at the IIM has increased in the period under survey, despite (or perhaps aggravated) by the

introduction of a standardized admission test. He further concludes that while,

Everyone (including the candidates and the institute authorities) would like to believe that it is merit and motivation that determine whether a person should be selected for admission or not. Surely, these are only the factors which are 'intended' to influence selection. But that cannot rule out the 'unintended' consequences which may flow from some components of the selection process...A vast majority of (87.3%) of the rich candidates who apply for admission in 1971 came from large cities a population of one lakh and above. Most of them (87.3%) are sons of professionals like lawyers, doctors and professors or high ranking government officers or businessmen. A little over half of these candidates (51.3%) had studied in public schools, while three fourths of them had graduated from high school with English as the medium of instruction. Most of the rich candidates (95.4%) started their college education through English medium and almost all of them completed the degree course with English as the medium of instruction. Of the 37% rich candidates with engineering degrees, 15% were the product of the prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology. 21

The above figures thus make a convincing case of the extent to which selection for admission at the IIM's is influenced by the economic and educational background of the students.

22

It is argued in the following analysis that the selection processes at the IIMC continue to operate in favour of students from economically prosperous, urban and westernized families²³ despite the efforts made to ensure equity. Furthermore, the orientations inherited from the MIT collaboration continue to affect the selection procedures particularly in terms of the educational background of the students. The extent to which the efforts in positive discrimination have succeeded is also not clear.

The elite status and high prestige attached to the IIMC's Post graduate programme is clear from the gap between the number of applications received and the number of seats available. The statistics demonstrate that

from 1977 - 1983, the average of successful admissions was only 2.64% of the total applications received. In real figures, thus, for 1981-1983, 5742 applications were received, 561 or 9.7% of the students qualified in the admission test but only 123 or 2.1% of the total applicants actually gained admission.²⁴

The results of the admission test also reveals certain biases in favour of an elite student group. The regional spread of student population who qualified for interview in the session 1981-1983, demonstrates in confirmation with Sharma's findings, a concentration of students from the four largest Indian cities, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. 473 out of the 561 applicants²⁵ selected for interview were male in comparison to only 49 female candidates. Moreover, only 32 scheduled caste and 7 schedule tribe qualified to avail the 20% admission quota set aside for them.²⁶

However, a preponderance of engineering graduates in the number²⁷ of students enrolled is very clear. In the years 1977-83, the number of engineering graduates enrolled has averaged 77.36% of the total enrolment. In contrast, the average spread of students from other backgrounds has been 8.88% from Arts, (Humanities), 9.22% from Science and 4.53% from Commerce and Law. Another noticeable trend is the increase over the years in the number of engineering graduates enrolled, significantly from 75% in 1977 to 84% in 1981 in correspondence with the decrease in non-engineering graduates from 25% to 16% in the same period. Moreover, as pointed out by several members of the faculty, even within the engineering graduates a large percentage have graduated from the highly prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology.

Comparative figures for the three Institutes of Management as presented

in the 'Report of the Review Committee²⁸ demonstrate that the heaviest concentration of engineering graduates is at the Calcutta Institute. Thus in the period 1977-1980, the average number of engineering graduates at Calcutta is shown to be 70% in comparison to 54.9% at Ahmedabad and 63.7% at Bangalore.

One explanation offered for this difference in admission ^{averages} is that the Calcutta Institute places greater importance on test scores than the other institutions. The Ahmedabad Institute, for example, according to the Review Committee report, places

appropriate differential advantage to non-engineering candidates, as it is comparatively more difficult to score high percentage of marks in non-engineering courses than in engineering courses.²⁹

The bias in favour of engineering graduates is startlingly clear. Given the subsidized nature of both engineering and management education in India, it is not surprising that assertions of reinforced elitism and waste of national resources, rather picturesquely expressed as "gold polishing gold" be directed against the admission procedures of the IIMC.

It is in this context that the question posed by the Nanda Committee becomes relevant, "is it worthwhile to spend so much on a person first to make him an engineer and then train him at a high cost as manager?"³⁰

The question of importance in this study is the extent to which this bias can be related to the IIMC's collaborative links with the MIT. On apparent evidence, the hypothetical link suggested above seems to be refuted. Statistics³¹ relating to the educational background of the PGP students at the time of active collaboration with MIT demonstrate that

the bias in terms of student recruitment was in favour of pure science graduates, 31.43%. In comparison, the average enrolment rates of engineering graduates in that period was 23.02%. While the percentage of Arts graduates at the first session (1964-1966) was high, it declined significantly over the period of active collaboration. From 38.29% in 1964-1966 to 19.56% in 1966-1968. Such a bias in favour of science graduates is not surprising given the admission procedures laid out by the MIT advisers and MIT's own institutional strength, but clearly does not explain the trend of increasing Engineering graduate enrolment.

The statistical data available also provides one important clue. A dramatic increase in favour of the engineering graduates took place in the session 1968-1970, when the percentage of engineers enrolled increased from 25% in the previous session to 50%.³² Since then, the percentage of engineering graduates enrolled has steadily increased. It is important to note that it was in 1968 that the formal collaboration agreement between MIT and the IIMC was rewritten, hence the hypothesized link between MIT's influence and the increased intake of engineering students is further refuted.

Nonetheless, there is little doubt that the quantitative bias in the IIMC's course-offering (an orientation inherited from the MIT), as well as greater reliance upon the CAT (Common Admission Test) has led to this preponderance of Engineering graduates at the Institute.

Thus, even if a direct causal relationship between initial dependency and the preponderance of Engineering graduates is refuted in the case of the IIMC, it is still clear that IIMC is demonstrably biased towards engineering graduates with a quantitative background in its admission procedures.

This was acknowledged by several faculty members who felt that major steps needed to be taken to broaden the catchment area to the less privileged sections of society. A senior faculty member, thus commented on the elitist admission procedures.

It is true and to some extent unavoidable. It is unavoidable in that if there is a good institution, there is a crowding of upper-class talent. What can be avoided is extreme favouritism towards urban based upper class students which is inherent in selection procedures. That is so because we basically utilized in English medium schools, IIT's etc. and are therefore very familiar to those students, but not so far lower middle class or peasant stock students who are really bright. The exam does not measure the intelligence of the students but rather their skill in handling certain kinds of questionnaires. So my supposition is that if one could systematically reduce bias then one could alter slightly the class composition of the students.

.....The point is, there are bound to be inequalities; how can you prevent them from being intergenerational in character ? 33

Positive discrimination measures too, according to this interviewee were only partially successful in that,

Once they (the SC/ST students) come through the system they become part of the elite. But I would rather this than their being shut out altogether. 34

In sum, admission procedures to the Post graduate programme, at the IIMC, have, it is asserted, reinforced inequalitarian trends within Indian higher education. A partial influence of the metropolitan agencies in inducing this outcome is also evident.

Placement

Another assertion, of theorists arguing from a dependency perspective, is that the transfer of educational institutions from the Centre reinforces the processes of selective development in the periphery, the educational

training provided in such institutions, it is suggested,

is so influenced by foreign standards that it prepares graduates for vocational roles inconsistent with stated national goals. ³⁵

Graduates of these institutions , it is argued are absorbed by the enclave sector of the national economy, dominated by the multinational corporations which are closely tied to the economic interests of the Centre and have only tenuous links with the rest of the peripheral society.³⁶ The extent to which educational institutions like the IIMC facilitate the employment of their graduates in the advanced or "enclave" sector of the economy is thus, indicative of their instrumental role in the further alienation of elite groups thereby resulting in reinforced socio-economic dependency.

The most explicit intervention made by the IIMC in directing its graduates towards specific vocational roles is through the Placement service offered on the Campus since the time of establishment. Most graduates utilize this service to secure their first job after graduation, and the records of this service provide a reliable guide to the aspirations of the graduates in terms of jobs preferred. In order to test the assertions of dependency theorists as stated above, the records of student placement over 1979-1983 will be examined in the following section. ³⁷

A starting hypothesis for the following analysis is that the IIMC's aspirations towards greater relevance to the Indian economy, if realistic, would be reflected in the ways in which its graduates are absorbed in the different sectors of the Indian economy. The organizing question, is to what extent are the job preferences of the IIMC graduates consistent with identified managerial needs of the country ?

In a survey conducted by the All India Management Association in 1975, the managerial needs of the country were classified into the following five categories :

- "a) Agriculture and Rural industries.
- b) Small business and industry in urban areas.
- c) Large and medium western oriented private enterprise.(WOPS)
- d) Large and medium traditional Indian private enterprise. (TIPS)
- e) Public sector industry.
- f) Government and semi-government (e.g. municipal corporations) administration. ' 38

Through the need for managerial expertise is strongly expressed in all these areas, in the IIMC, ^{the} basic choice facing the graduates is between categories, c.d.e. Even amongst these, there has been in India recently a most strongly articulated demand for the deployment of professional managerial expertise in the public sector of industry.³⁹

To what extent has the IIMC been able to respond to this national need through the placement of its graduates ? As placement records⁴⁰ indicate while there is some progress in this direction, there still exists among IIMC graduates an overwhelming preference for WOP jobs.⁴¹

Public sector jobs rank second in preference though there is a wide disparity in the percentage of graduates opting for such jobs when compared to the WOP sector. From the records available to the investigator, it is also very clear that few IIMC graduates venture into the family owned TIPS. (category d)

One explanation for such bias in job aspirations found in the Indian management literature links the output of the IIMC in terms of graduate placement directly to the ethos created by the initial dependency.

When the first two management institutes were established with the help of the Ford Foundation, the model chosen was the American model based on MIT in one case and Harvard in another. According to the American project initiators, this had to be done because no "Indian model" was available. Since the 'product' found a market, there was little effort to change the model. The Harvard case-studies were replaced largely by case-studies in WOPS units. Consequently, the working of the wholly owned Indian sector both private and public is still to be understood. The ignorance has often led to casting aspersions on these sectors. ⁴²

The image of low prestige and remunerative advantages available in the public sector have thus been, according to the above commentator, further reinforced by the attitudes inculcated in the educational experience of the graduates in the management Institutes. Moreover, on this account, it is important to note that the IIMC ranks lowest in comparison to its sister institutes in facilitating employment in the public sector. ⁴³ ⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the above explanations the argument is sustained through the data presented above that the placement outcomes of the IIMC favour the advanced sectors of the Indian economy and have failed to acknowledge in a serious manner the competing demand in both the public sector and the traditional Indian private sector. ⁴⁵ In such institutions, as pointed out by Paul, are being prepared.

for India's future another elitist group of managers who are (at best) condescending to the realities of the great transformations that are taking place in a society in transition. Our management education systems will then be more than a "peripheral experience" and lead to the attachment of colourful labels to obtain a job. ⁴⁶

Faculty Resources

Perhaps the most valuable asset of the IIMC today is its highly qualified faculty base consisting of forty nine faculty members and thirteen

Research Fellows. Student - teacher ratios at the IIMC are very impressive, the latest statistics showing them at 4:1. It is true to suggest in this respect, that even the expectations of the metropolitan agencies including Dean Robbins have been far exceeded.⁴⁸

Even the high quality faculty base at the IIMC today, cannot be delinked from the initial birth conditions as pointed out in the discussion on comprador elites. As amply evident in the Ford Foundation files,⁴⁹ faculty selection, faculty remuneration and facilities for faculty consultancy loomed large in the earliest discussions of the subject. In fact, grants from the Ford Foundation were made conditional to the meeting of the metropolitan agencies stipulations with regard to faculty.⁵⁰

However, as will be discussed in greater detail in the analysis on 'fragmentation', the policies of the MIT technical assistants, resulted unfortunately in loss of cohesive identity and sharp factional divisions within the IIMC. This outcome of metropolitan penetration, today inhibits the institution from achieving its goal of independent development.

Physical Resources

The privileged position of the IIMC among other higher education institutions is also evident on a variety of other indicators.

The IIMC is also, to a large extent as a result of the largesse of the Ford Foundation, equipped with a well-stocked library. According to the most recent statistics,⁵¹ the total number of books and bound periodicals was 83,500 volumes. This is in addition to 350 periodicals being subscribed to periodically. A powerful computer is another valuable asset of the IIMC.

The extensive, though not as yet complete physical resources of the IIMC in terms, of land and buildings has already been cited.

On several counts then, the IIMC today enjoys physical resources and amenities, much closer to those of its American sponsor, the MIT than those available to traditional Indian Universities.

However, even in this case due to certain structural limitation in the growth process of the institution, the facilities as available have only been partially utilized. Thus, for example, prior to the construction of the just completed library building, the extremely valuable collection of books and periodicals were housed in extremely cramped quarters; similarly, faculty accommodation as planned on the campus is still not fully utilized. Thus, despite the privileged resource position of the IIMC, available facilities have not been optimally utilized to enable the institution achieve its stated goals and independent status.

Outcome of Metropolitan Penetration

The "encapsulated" character of the IIMC innovation is clear from the evidence cited above. On almost every indicator chosen including locational arrangements, campus space, trends in admission, placement in future jobs for IIMC graduates, as well as faculty and physical resources, the IIMC is seen to occupy a privileged position, particularly in comparison to standards maintained at other Indian Universities.

The fact that IIMC occupies this privileged position in Indian higher education today is linked inextricably with its birth processes as a protégé of the Ford Foundation and the MIT. Earlier processes of

metropolitan penetration can be seen to condition the institution's function on the indicators specified above.

Thus, in terms of location arrangements, the insistence of the metropolitan agencies on an American University style campus rather than on location in the centre of the city has contributed to the IIMC's insulation from city ^us~~r~~roundings. While the ample ^us~~r~~roundings are certainly valuable, unanticipated infrastructural problems have occurred. Similarly, the selection procedures as followed at the IIMC retain a distinct quantitative bias, which is widely acknowledged as a remnant of MIT influence. This has led, in recent years, to the predominance of Engineering graduates. The orientation of IIMC graduates towards jobs in MNC's or WOP's can also be linked to the subtle conditioning involved in the transfer of the American business school model. Finally, the IIMC's privileged position in relation to faculty resources, library facilities and other amenities can in many ways be seen as a direct outcome of Foundation generosity.

Conclusion

Despite the continuing influence of decisions taken at the time of establishment and orientation inherited, therein, it must be acknowledged that steps have been taken at the IIMC to move away from the previously 'dependent' elitist stance. Admission procedures have been reviewed recently with a view to broadening the catchment area of the Institute. Recent years ^{have} ~~has~~ also seen an increased shift towards public sector jobs as compared to the previous concentration in the private sector. Moreover, available physical resources are being increasingly utilized in developmental projects and activities. The shift towards equity however, has not been able to overcome the structural limitations and conditioning induced as a result of metropolitan penetration.

Given the continuing influence of metropolitan agencies in certain institutional aspects, it is not surprising that IIMC along with its sister institution the IIMA, is often perceived^{as} an "island of excellence" in the midst of relatively impoverished universities. The extent to which its encapsulated character, boosted by its autonomous status has prevented the institution from (a) interacting with other institutions of management education in the region and (b) responding to the needs and realities of the Indian economy, in particular its impoverished sectors will be taken up in the following sections. Elitism, it is important to note, continues to be a marked feature of the IIMC, even today.

MARGINALIZATION

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Marginalization, according to the dependency theorists is an important almost inevitable outcome of metropolitan penetration.⁵³

In the context of education¹ underdevelopment, it is claimed that with the exception of certain cultural enclaves, often integrated into the centre, the educational communities in countries of the periphery inhabit vast areas of deprivation and poverty. As foreign patterns pervade the educational system, displacing those of the colonial period, its ecology is altered and differences among academics and institutions of higher education is magnified. As a result, many institutions lacking the autonomy and resources to compete with the elite institutions are relegated to an inferior place in the educational system, with the consequent demoralization among faculty members that this involves.

In other words, metropolitan penetration results in a displacement of the "centre of gravity of power relations" within the higher education system of the recipient society. Such a displacement, according to Scherz Garcia, occurs when certain "institutions of higher education are induced to espouse goals tied in with the distribution and the use of resources^{Δ C} which the aid has made possible directly or indirectly."⁵⁴

The outcomes of metropolitan penetration are two fold, (a) marginalization of institutions and (b) marginalization of people. Firstly, there occurs the marginalization of the hitherto dominant institutions in the field, and secondly, there is a polarization between academics working in the two different sectors. Interinstitutional disparities are exacerbated within

the higher education system and large parts of the existing system are relegated to a subordinate position vis a vis the favoured "enclave" sector which remains closely tied to the metropolitan institution. A corollary to this process is the rigidification of divisions between the Academics of the two systems.

The marginalization outcome, in the case of higher education systems is most clearly manifest in "the conflict situation generated internally in the universities assisted by foundations where beneficiary units assume a privileged position in relation to other schools or faculties, in salary scales and facilities made available for teaching or research. Assistance in the measure to which it is considered unfairly discriminatory, thus assumes an unexpected an unfavourable role for the harmonious relations between units which compose the institutions of higher education".⁵⁵

The central issue of interest in the following analysis, is whether the establishment of the IIMC, on the model of the SSM at MIT, and the financial support of the Ford Foundation has provoked a 'marginalization' of existing institutions offering management education in the region.

The second major institution providing post-graduate management education in the Calcutta region is the Management Studies department of the Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management. This institution is affiliated to Calcutta University, and enjoys degree-granting status, a major privilege as yet denied to the IIMC. Despite this relative advantage, it is asserted that this institution has been "marginalized" by the parallel establishment of the IIMC.

More specifically, the organizing questions for the analysis are, firstly, does the IISWBM occupy a 'marginal' position in relation to the IIMC ?⁵⁶ Secondly, if the institution's marginal position can be established, in what ways can this situation be seen as a direct outcome of the processes of metropolitan penetration in the IIMC ? A third important question concerns the present relationship between the two institutions. Now that the IIMC occupies a relatively independent position in terms of metropolitan penetration, what efforts have been made to integrate with the 'marginal' institutions ? In fact, is such integration perceived as either necessary or desirable ? In what ways do certain structural limitations of the IIMC continue to inhibit the institution from achieving a more effective relationship with its less well endowed sister institution ?

In this analysis, features of marginalization as present in the Calcutta University Department of Management will be examined through an institutional case-study, in which data relevant to the marginalization outcome is categorized on the basis of the Holmes IBE taxonomy.⁵⁷

A starting generalization which will be substantiated in the subsequent analysis is that the IISWBM's management education department appears to be in many ways strongly influenced by the American business school model. However, because of the indirect nature of contact with the metropolitan model and the intention of links with the existing university system, certain limitations have been inbuilt into the structure and functioning of this institution. These limitations continue to reinforce its marginal status vis a vis both the metropolitan institutions and the elite IIMC.

Aims and Objectives

In contrast to the IIMC's lofty institutional objectives, the IISWBM sees the role of the full time MBA course as limited to giving the "participant a liberal business education and simultaneously prepare him or her for a chosen career." ⁵⁸

It is important to notice the significance of the expression "liberal business education", which suggests that knowledge imparted in the course is seen as having some intrinsic value and the vocational objective is subsidiary to this value. This orientation is clearly different from that of the IIMC which states, "throughout the programme, the emphasis is on knowledge for knowledge utilization rather than the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake". ⁵⁹

It would not be unduly speculative to suggest that the differences underlying the philosophies of the two schools can be linked to the influence of their "mother institutions", in the case of the IIMC, the pragmatic approach of the American "multiversity" and in the case of the IISWBM, the liberal approach of English University education.

Administrative Structure

The IISWBM is an affiliated college of the Calcutta University. At the apex of its administrative hierarchy therefore, is the Calcutta University syndicate, the executive body to which the institution is accountable in the last resort. The Calcutta University syndicate is composed of twenty six members 11 exofficio, including the Vice-Chancellor, the pro Vice Chancellors, State director of Public Instruction, deans of faculties of arts, science,

law, medicine and engineering and one other dean appointed by rotation; 2 nominated; 13 elected; including 5 academic staff elected by the Senate from its non-teaching members. ⁶⁰

Despite its affiliation with the University, the IISWBM on its own is constituted as an Autonomous society under the Societies Registration Act (XXI of 1860). This was an arrangement made in order to relieve the University of Calcutta from any financial obligation regarding the Institute and enable it to receive grants directly from the Central Government. Parenthetically, it may be noted that the IIMC has also been constituted under the same Society Registration Act, but for very different reasons. Unlike the IIMC which has considerable autonomy from external agencies in terms of its internal functioning, the IISWBM, notwithstanding its autonomous status, operates under a whole hierarchy of external control.

Structure and Organization

As an affiliated body of the University, teaching constitutes the central activity of the IISWBM. The institution offers a variety of diploma and Masters' degree courses in Social Welfare, Urban Administration and Business Management. The Department of Business Management conducts two major courses: (a) The two year full time MBA course and (b) the three year part time MBA course in the evening for working managers. Unlike the IIMC, there is no formal provision for either research or consultancy. ⁶¹

The limited scope of the IISWBM's activities as compared to the IIMC, helps to satisfy yet another, described by Lloyd as characteristic of a 'marginal situation'. Thus, true to its affiliation with the traditional

University the IISWBM does not "share all customs" or "participate in social services", in a manner similar to the dominant IIMC.⁶²

The MBA Programme

Selection of Students

The admission requirements for the MBA programme in the IISWBM are similar to the IIMC. However, the number of seats available are limited to only thirty per year. Selection procedures are also similar to those adopted at the IIMC and consist of objective tests, composition and group discussion. In accordance with Central Government directives the IISWBM also reserves 15% of its seats for students from Schedule Castes and scheduled tribes. Admission requirements are relaxed for these candidates.⁶³

An important difference between the two institutions is the relative demand for places in the course. While the tremendous rush in management education in India today has ensured that there is a constant shortage of available places in MBA programmes offered at universities, clearly the demand for places at the prestigious IIM's is greater than elsewhere. This is despite the absence of degree-granting status in the IIM's.

Thus, while in the case of the IIMC, the percentage of successful enrolments was on average only 2.1% of the total applicants over the last five years, in the IISWBM the percentage of successful enrolments from 1978 till 1982 have been on average 7.3% of the total number of applicants.⁶⁴ The figures computed above show that despite a more limited seat availability there is a significantly lower demand for the places on offer at the IISWBM

While data on the educational background of students pursuing the MBA course at the IISWBM is not available, a general opinion held by IIMC faculty members was that the student body of the IISWBM was largely composed of local students who had been unsuccessful in gaining admission⁶⁵ to the prestigious PGDM programme of the IIMC. This view, if correct, is indicative of yet another characteristic of a marginal institution being displayed in this aspect of the IISWBM's functioning.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that the IISWBM's MBA programme is a day time course only and very limited hostel facilities are available. Paradoxically, tuition fees charged for the course are almost double that charged by the IIMC. There is also, unlike the IIMC, very little provision for scholarships and other forms of financial assistance.⁶⁶

Course Structure

The full time MBA programme consists of four semesters with a summer project at the end of the third semester. The part time course is spread over six semesters. It is interesting to note that the MBA programme as offered at the IISWBM is organized in the American Semester system, rather in the traditional division of course time into 'terms' and 'year'.⁶⁷ This is in contrast to the IIMC which though adopting an American model more directly, in terms of offering a variety of courses with weekly credit hour specifications, organized course time in the form of 'terms' rather than semesters.

The IISWBM's MBA programme consists of seventeen courses spread over a period of two years concentrating on the operational areas of management.⁶⁸ Unlike the IIMC, there is no special emphasis on either basic disciplines

or quantitative studies. The broad based orientation of the IIMC, which includes courses on Indian Economic and Political History, Data Processing, Indian Social History, Indian Legal System, Management Policy and Management Games is conspicuously lacking at the IISWBM.

The methods of teaching used in the IISWBM are primarily the lecture method with some facilities for seminar-syndicates, audio visual aids, handouts and aid memoires.⁶⁹ The IIMC, on the other hand, utilizes a more extensive range of pedagogical techniques.

A curious anomaly exists in that the IISWBM having adopted the semester system model for course organization has persisted in retaining the evaluation methods of the traditional university. Thus, examinations are held at the end of every semester and the mark distribution out of 100 is 50 for written work and 50 for oral work. Furthermore, in keeping with the traditional system retained at Calcutta University, at the end of their course, students are placed in the First or Second class according to their aggregate performance in the examinations.⁷⁰ This is in contrast to the IIMC where students are evaluated on the basis of their overall performance in "examinations, reports, term papers, class performance, seminars, regular tests, surprise quizzes and oral examinations as determined by the faculty members concerned".⁷¹ Evaluation, too in the IIMC is done on the basis of a nine point grade system rather than by marks out of 100.

However, the IISWBM does enjoy a privilege denied to the IIMC. Due to its affiliation to Calcutta University it is able to grant its graduates an MBA degree. It has been suggested however that as far as the MBA or its IIM equivalent the PGDM programme is concerned, the ranking of the IIM's in terms of prestige is so much higher that this relative advantage enjoyed by the Calcutta University's management department does not significantly alter its marginal status.

Placement

The case of the IIMC's PGDM programme provides an interesting refutation of the deterministic relationship degrees and job opportunities specified by some educationalists.⁷² Despite the absence of a formal degree the IIMC graduates are in great demand and often receive two or three offers of jobs before they graduate. Most of them are placed in remunerative positions soon after graduation, and the fact that they hold only a Post graduate Diploma in Management rather than an MBA degree, does not affect their career opportunities in any significant way.

In contrast, the IISWBM, despite its degree-granting status cannot provide its graduates with the same career opportunities. Its marginality in this respect, is best reflected in the evidence that the IISWBM graduates (in comparison to the IIMC) have more difficulty in placement directly after the course.⁷³

Moreover, unlike the IIMC, the IISWBM graduates are not offered the "cream" of job opportunities. This limited success in placement helps satisfy another of Lloyd's marginality criteria that "Economically, the marginals are not producers in dominant sectors although they may help to produce for other marginals."⁷⁴

It is important to recognize that this situation has not arisen due to lack of effort. The IISWBM in emulation of the IIMC offers placement facilities for its MBA graduates. The placement bureau of the Institute functions as a channel of communication between the prospective employers and the graduating students and also provides on campus interview facilities for preliminary and final selection.

Finance

The contribution of massive doses of foreign aid coupled with heavy subsidies from the Central and State Government of India have been cited earlier as an important determinant of the encapsulated character of the IIMC innovation. Such financial resources both external and internal were not available to the IISWBM and can be held to be partially responsible for the 'marginal' status of the situation.

At the time of establishment in 1953, the IISWBM was deliberately set up as an autonomous but affiliated body of the Calcutta University, with the provision that the Calcutta University "was not required to incur any expenditure for the Institute". The initial funding thus came out of "collections made by the Institute and the grants received from the Central and State Governments, the latter also provided the land".⁷⁵

Out of such modest beginnings, the Institute continued to carry out its original programme until the mid seventies. At the time of starting its full time MBA programme in 1976, the IISWBM, approached the Central Government for both recognition and funding. In 1977, the Government of India agreed to bear 50% of the recurring and non-recurring expenditure, In 1978, the State Government, "likewise agreed to bear 50% of recurring⁷⁶ and non-recurring entire expenditure on expiry of five years". Financial assistance continues to be a matter of concern to the leadership of the Institute. Few such constraints inhibit the activities of the IIMC, despite the recent dwindling of Ford Foundation funds.

Faculty Resources

In contrast to the IIMC's faculty strength of fifty full time members,

the IISWBM's faculty strength is severely limited. Full time staff members in the latter institution,⁷⁷ are limited to three Professors, two Assistant Professors and six lecturers, comprising a total of twelve staff members in the MBA programme including the Director of the Institute who had overall responsibility. The actual faculty strength cited above falls even below the minimum number of staff members officially sanctioned by the Government of India.⁷⁸ In terms of faculty members, there is little doubt that the IISWBM occupies a position of relative paucity in comparison to the IIMC.

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It has been suggested by Lloyd that an important feature of marginal societies and institutions is that they maintain closer links with the traditional culture than the enclave societies or institutions which function as ancillaries of the metropolitan culture. An important mechanism for the maintenance of such links is through the training of future faculty members in the metropolitan nation. In India, due to colonial linkages, the traditional culture of India Universities has been strongly influenced by the British model and consequently British trained academics have been an important component of the traditional culture of Indian universities. Recently, Indian universities have taken over from their British predecessors the task of training University faculty. On the other hand, the enclave sector as represented by the IIMA and IIMC have maintained close links with American business schools which in terms of management education, represent the presently dominant culture. Training of future members for the enclave sector has again been an important mechanism of diffusion of this culture.

It is clear from an examination of the full time faculty composition of the IISWBM, that in this respect, allegiance to the traditional culture

continues to play an important part. Moreover, any deviation from this allegiance, seems to favour the existing Indian universities and other institutions providing management education rather than American Universities. Thus out of a total faculty strength of twelve, two of the professors and two of the lecturers have been trained in the United Kingdom. Of the other five faculty members, the Assistant Professor in Production Management holds a Post graduate Diploma in Management from the IIMC while the others hold degrees from Indian universities. In comparison, only two of the other faculty members including the present Head of the Department Dr. (Mrs) L. Mitter hold degrees from the United States.⁸⁰ The educational backgrounds of the faculty members is thus sharply different from the IIMC in which 40% of the faculty members hold degrees from American Universities.⁸¹

The marginal status of the IISWBM is further demonstrated in that the full time faculty members of the IISWBM have also a lower level of educational qualification in comparison to the IIMC, where all faculty members hold either a Ph.D or its equivalent. At the IISWBM, apart from the Director, only two other faculty members hold either the MBA degree or its equivalent Masters' qualification.

Moreover, the IISWBM relies upon a large number of part time faculty members to meet its shortage of full time faculty. In 1982, for example, at least twenty individuals were invited as visiting faculty members to teach the MBA course.⁸²

Marginal Status ?

It is evident from the case-study offered above that the IISWBM occupies a marginal status in the Indian higher education system in

comparison with the apex or (in dependency terminology) "enclave" position of the IIMC. In each aspect of its functioning, it has been pointed out, the IISWBM is seen to occupy a position of relative disadvantage. The aims and objectives of the IISWBM, it has been suggested, are limited in scope; despite its officially autonomous status; its administration is handicapped by the intervention of several official bodies, including the central Government, the State Government and its parent body, the University of Calcutta. Unlike the broad spectrum of institutional activities including teaching, research and consultancy indulged in by the IIMC, the IISWBM's programme in management is limited to teaching the full time and part time MBA programme. The student body of the IISWBM's MBA programme lacks the exceptional academic abilities of the IIMC's PGDM programme and its graduates are also less easily absorbed into industry. Its curriculum offerings though dependent on American textbooks, are less broadbased than the IIMC, and it lacks the resources both physical and financial for innovative pedagogical techniques. From the outset, the institution has been handicapped by financial stringency and it has been unable to recruit the talented faculty base which represents IIMC's most valuable (though perhaps not optimally utilized) resource. Moreover, as a result of these structural limitations, the IISWBM has been unable to exploit significantly, its singular advantage over the IIMC, its degree-granting status.

That this situation is not unique to the IISWBM, but has occurred in most Indian universities attempting to offer management education is evident from the following assessment made by Singh ⁸³

The universities work under various limitations. There is a shortage of books especially the latest ones. The curriculum which needs continued renewal in form as well as substance, in the light of new knowledge and insights, is modelled on the

pattern of foreign universities. University teachers, by and large do not have practical experience in industry. University pay scales are not a powerful incentive to accept teaching positions as faculty. Theoretical training alone cannot equip the student for managerial jobs. Students are assigned to project work as part of the educational programme. But this does not build the kind of insights that would be acquired if the teaching faculty was in close touch with the practical problems of the business world. Of equal importance is the opportunity for faculty research and consultancy. The university tradition favours library research. Free time from teaching for field research and the funds to support it are difficult to find. The attempt to overcome these shortcomings by inviting lecturers from industry has its own unique problems. Busy executives even when willing, do not have the time to attend to assignments regularly or to bring to bear on the teaching process the kind of outlook that distinguishes a practitioner from a teacher. Moreover, it is alleged that a number of institutions have hurriedly initiated management programmes without having adequate faculty. People with limited professional experience even as teachers are asked to teach even when they can at best perform at a mediocre level. As Chandrakant has pointed out, a university as a centre of management studies is just one of the many departments of the university created to fit into a set academic pattern.

The university department of management studies has no distinctive personality and stature of its own to differentiate it from other department (nor) does it bear the impress of the dynamic, constantly changing factors of industry and commerce. We have yet to bring universities into a coherent relationship with the life and work of people.

More recently, features of marginality as present in some University Department of Management including the IISWBM were described by the Nanda Committee as follows:

The faculty strength is less than ten in most of these educational institutions and is 20 or 30 in 2 or three institutions only.

The funds made available for recurring expenditure is so low that the per student expenditure in several of these institutions is not even half of that in the IIM's

The facilities available are woefully inadequate in several of these institutions.

The funds made available for development work are meagre. ⁸⁴

There is ample evidence then that the university departments of

management education in India as represented by the IISWBM occupy a position of relative disadvantage vis a vis the modernized sector represented by the IIMC.

Outcome of Metropolitan Penetration ?

The foregoing analysis has emphasized the marginal position of the IISWBM as compared to the IIMC within the Indian Management education system. The question of interest in the next section is the extent to which this 'marginal status' of the IISWBM can be related to the setting up and paralld existence of the IIMC in the same geographical region. Also, to what extent can this subordination be viewed an outcome of the involvement of the metropolitan agencies, i.e., the Ford Foundation and the MIT technical assistants in the establishment of the IIMC. In other words, can the subsequent marginalization of the IISWBM in the Indian management education system be seen as an outcome of certain decisions taken at the time of establishment of the IIMC ?

In Part II of the study, an attempt was made to indentify mechanisms of penetration operationalized by the metropolitan agencies to influence the development of the IIMC. One such crucial decision taken at the instigation of the Ford Foundation officials, was the setting up of the IIMC as an autonomous society independent of University structures. In terms of the marginalization outcome too, this decision represents the most direct intervention made by metropolitan agencies in exacerbating the exclusion of existing institutions providing management education in favour of a new 'enclave' institution into the establishment of which was lavished both foreign aid and technical assistance.

While it would be merely speculative to suggest what the outcomes of

building up management education facilities within the IISWBM, i.e., within the existing university structures would have meant in terms of the future institutionalization of management education in India, the outcomes of setting up separate facilities in the same geographical region can be pointed out as follows :

Firstly, it is important to note that despite the establishment of the IISWBM in 1953 as the "first Institute of its kind to offer Management⁸⁵ education in India" in the form of the post graduate diploma in Business Administration in 1954, the IISWBM has been unable to offer a MBA until 1976 almost twelve years after the programme had been started in its rival institution, the IIMC. According to the present head of the Business Education Department, Dr. (Mrs) L Mitter, an important reason for the delay in starting the MBA course was the paralled existence of the IIMC in the same region.⁸⁶ This led to a major drain on both faculty and financial resources that could have been used to strengthen the Business Education Department of the Calcutta University.

This is acknowledged by Hill et. al.,

Both the management institutes by dint of engaging in so wide a range of activities on an all-India basis, not only competed with each other but impinged on what has been the preserves of precedent institutions. Moreover, the IIM's were seen by some as diverting resources which, they felt, could have been better used to strengthen the recently established university programme.⁸⁷

Resentment to the encroachment on reserved territory by the IIM's was clearly expressed from the outset by university authorities. The strong resistance for example, of the University of Bombay to have an Autonomous Institute of Management located in the same region was a response based on fears of domination by an elite autonomous institution.⁸⁸

A consequence of the conflict between the University authorities and the metropolitan agencies and their supporters in the Government, has been that the Institutes of Management have not been granted degree-granting status. Ironically, this structural limitation has further aggravated the marginalization of university based management education. This point can be elaborated as follows :

An important aim of the IIMC from the time of establishment was to help raise the quality of university based management education. The means envisaged to achieve this goal was through the placement of doctoral students of the IIMC as faculty members in the management departments of the universities. Through the training of good quality faculty members, it was hoped that the IIMC would contribute to the improvement of management education provided in the university. However, the Indian University Grant Commission regulations stipulate that a Ph.D degree is a prerequisite of employment in the universities. Since the IIMC fellowship graduates cannot be awarded a Ph.D degree, they cannot be easily absorbed as faculty members in the universities. Institutions like the IISWBM are thus denied the services of even the fellowship graduates of the IIMC, further aggravating their marginalization from the "enclave sector".

The implications of this structural limitation were widely recognised by members of the IIMC's faculty. A leading faculty member commented,

there is no doubt that those who want to teach later on have a problem unless they go to other IIM's. Not even the Indian Institutes of Technology are willing to accept them without a degree. 89

Thus, the decision of the metropolitan agencies to establish an autonomous institution at the cost of degree granting status has been

identified above as an important structural limitation which has exacerbated the marginalization of university departments of Management education by denying them the advantage of IIMC trained faculty member. The resistance of the traditional power elite, i.e. the university authorities, to this kind of autonomous institutional innovation has, it is suggested, further aggravated the marginalization phenomenon.

Coordination Efforts

Earlier, it has been suggested that while the metropolitan agencies exercised almost a controlling influence in the processes of policy formulation and adoption of the IIMC innovation, their role in de facto implementation of policies was much more limited. With the phasing out of the active collaboration and financial aid arrangements, the influence of the metropolitan agencies is almost non-existent today. Moreover, the IIMC is in the process of making renewed efforts in contribute more effectively to the development efforts in the country. Given this situation, the question of relevance to this analysis is what efforts are being made to coordinate a more effective relationship with the hitherto 'marginalized' institutions. In such an effort perceived as either necessary or desirable ? In the following section an attempt will be made to examine this issue with the help of relevant literature and through a synthesized version of the opinions of the IIMC faculty as collated in a series of indepth interviews in April 1983.⁹⁰

The quest for coordination of efforts between the IIM's and the University departments of Management is not new. In 1965, G.K. Chandiramani has proposed that the All India Board of Technical studies in Management should be reconstituted to function as a central coordinating body for all existing institutions in the field of management in the country.⁹¹

This recommendation had the strong support of the first Director of
the IISWBM, Professor D.K. Sanyal, In surveying the existing situation in
management education in the country in 1965, he noted that

Management Education in India....is not developing on a sound basis. I would, therefore, suggest that an attempt should be made to coordinate the education and to prevent overlapping. My suggestions therefore are :

1. The various agencies including universities and institutions which are interested in development of Management education in the country should be properly coordinated.
2. There should be clear cut demarcation in regard to the types of courses to be conducted by different agencies and institutions with a view to prevent overlapping.
3. An assessment should be made of the qualification of foreign experts who have visited this country and their successes in propagating management education. 93

However, the metropolitan agencies in India had quite different vision of how future institutionalization of management education should take place in the country and as demonstrated in Part II, it was they who succeeded in maintaining a separation between the university institutions and the IIM's. In the proceedings of the conference cited above, the Ford Foundation representative Douglas Ensminger commented in response to recommendations of closer coordination of Indian management education institutions,

I am a strong believer in allowing management institutions to develop freely and to structure themselves in different ways to meet the wide variety of management needs. Continued encouragement of this competitive and differential development is good insurance that the best will take root and the superfluous will be shed. 94

Judging from Mr. Ensminger's opinions of Indian Universities as revealed

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in his "Oral History Interviews", it is clear that he placed the Institutes of Management in the former category and the universities in the latter.⁹⁶

There was also a strong opposition to the proposed coordination from the IIM leadership itself. Thus Vikram Sarabhai, the first honorary Director of the IIMA remarked,

I must very frankly say that the term "coordination" raises in my mind a somewhat disturbing prospect...As we all know, the job of coordination is not an easy one. Moreover, it is often feared and I think rightly that "coordination" tends towards regimentation, and nobody likes regimentation in any field, least of all in the field of education.

I would therefore, suggest that this conference must not try to bind the hands of various agencies and institutes which are engaged in the task of management education and training. Let there be no regulation or control. 97

Uptil today, the issue of coordination remains problematic. The Institutes have remained, according to some commentators, isolated from the mainstream management education provided in India by the management departments of the universities. This has certainly provoked feelings of resentment in the latter.

For example, Professor A.N. Agarwala, a pioneer in the field of university based management education in the country has pointed out,

The touch me not attitude, alleged to have been cultivated especially at the two Institutes of Management is unfortunate, if the allegation is correct. These institutes were intended to play a leadership role in the country; but a wide gulf exists between them and the universities -- wide in a physical and mental sense -- and the institutes have done precious little to bridge the gap. They are known to have even refused cooperation when sought by the universities. 98

The Institutes on their part have defended this low level linkage by claiming that closer coordination with universities represents a threat to their institutional autonomy. In fact, the faculty members interviewed at the IIMC were united in their conviction, that it was this freedom from the bureaucratic controls and centralized management of the university which was a major contributing factor to their institutional success, and therefore any pressures to the contrary were to be strenuously opposed. This has often resulted in de facto insulation from the university departments of management.

This separation was, according to some faculty members, further reinforced by the feelings of inferiority commonly displayed by the university department faculty. This prevented them from availing assistance from the IIMC. Thus, as one faculty member explained; an important goal of the IIMC from the outset has been the improvement of university based management education through the training of management teachers for the universities. Major obstacles are however encountered in attempting to fulfill this goal, because the intending teachers of universities cannot easily be mixed with the normal students of the IIMC. The former, according, to this faculty member, come with the feeling that they are faculty

They can think we are superior teachers possible because we are from the IIMC, not university department. They may be ready to learn from us, but they would not like to mix up with other students due to a feeling of superiority or inferiority. Our students would not like to do so feeling that they are superior to the teachers because they are managers. 99

Even so, it was readily admitted that IIMC assistance was not easily forthcoming even if so desired by the universities. While some faculty members in the IIMC did maintain personal links with the universities, no

formal institutional linkages existed, and nor did the establishment of such linkages appear to be in the view of the interviewees a task of major importance.

Most faculty members tended to explain this apathy on their part by emphasizing the limitation of the universities in providing an appropriate environment for creative teaching and research in management. They were also quick to point the significant differences between the two sets of institutions. Thus according to one of the faculty members interviewed,

While the university culture centres on assimilating text books and regurgitating material, the major strength of an institution like the IIMC is its combination of research and consultancy. Research undertaken at the IIMC is valuable if carried out into management disciplines with a view to create understanding based on indigenous data which can be further disseminated to industry, business and commerce. The IIMC is also fortunate in that it can enjoy greater resources than the university. Furthermore, we have the advantage of wider contact with the rest of the world. 100

These qualitative differences, according to some of the faculty members were an adequate justification for the disproportionately high public expenditure on the IIMC as compared to institutions such as the IISWBM. The rationale was that if government policy favoured the existence of certain "centres of excellence" and if the IIMC was to aspire to that role, then more financial support was inevitably required.

A similar orientation is reflected in the official review of University-
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IIM linkages made by the Nanda Committee. The report acknowledged the informal linkages which existed between the IIM's and other university institutions and merely reiterated the need for the Government of India to

"encourage and assist these Institutes to form formal linkages both in the country and outside the country. The linkages in the country may be with university departments of management science and with special institutes like IIFT".¹⁰² No further recommendations was made, as to how these links should be operationalised to make the "apex" institutions like the IIMC more responsive to the needs of its less endowed sister institutions like the IISWBM.

To sum up, while most faculty members and the Nanda Committee report realized the resource as well as organizational limitations which were responsible for the marginal status of the university departments of management like the IISWBM, few felt that the IIMC had much institutional responsibility in alleviating the situation. The issue of greater coordination or even institutional assistance to the university departments through faculty training and other measures did not evoke much enthusiasm. However the structural limitation of the IIMC in faculty training due to the absence of degree-granting status was recognised by some interviewees.¹⁰³

FRAGMENTATION

It has been argued, in the preceding two sections of the study, that a partial outcome of metropolitan penetration at the IIMC, has been the creation of an encapsulated institution which occupies an enclave position within the Indian higher education system, with the subsequent marginalization of more traditional but less privileged institutions offering management education in the region.

In the following analysis, an attempt will be made to examine the validity of yet another claim made by writers of the dependency orientation. These theorists postulate that excessive specialization introduced through transfer of Western technology leads to structural fragmentation within whole or partial sectors of the peripheral society.

Analogously, in the case of institutional transfer in higher education, it can be argued that the levels of specialization introduced as a consequence of metropolitan penetration into the peripheral institution are fragmentation inducing. As pointed out by Galtung, a holistic perspective is distorted because,

some look only at economic factors, others look at social factors and some others are concerned with the compatibilities between Western technology and endogenous culture. Only very rarely are these fragments put together to form a relatively total picture.¹⁰⁴

The questions of interest in the following analysis can be stated as follows. Firstly, can evidence of the fragmentation phenomenon as predicted by the Dependency theorists be found existing at the IIMC. Moreover, to what extent can this situation (if existing) be causally related to the

degree of specialization introduced within the institution by the metropolitan agency. Finally does the fragmentation outcome inculcate attitudes of insulation within particular sections of the Institution, with detrimental repercussions for cohesive institutional development.

Fragmented Institutional Structure

The most explicit form in which fragmentation is manifest at the IIMC is in the sharp divisions existing in IIMC between faculty members specializing in basic disciplines and quantitative areas like Economics and Statistics, and other faculty members specialising in the functional management areas like, Finance, Marketing etc.

A senior member of the Institute's management faculty provided the investigator with a detailed analysis of the fragmentation phenomenon as seen present in the IIMC. Since his deliberations represent the most detailed as well as candid analysis of the difficulty, his views will be discussed in detail, after which the confirming or refuting evidence provided by other faculty member will be analysed. This faculty member will be referred to as Professor A for the sake of anonymity. An implicit bias in Professor A's views must be acknowledged since his loyalties lay firmly with the functional management group of the Institute's faculty.

Professor A was strongly of the opinion that the core activity of the Institute, the raison d'etre for its existence was management education, and basic disciplines had a role to play only in helping to understand the political, economic and socio-cultural environment in which the management function operated.

According to him, the extent to which the IIMC is handicapped by existing faculty can best be expressed diagrammatically and contrast with an ideal model of a cohesive institution providing management education.¹⁰⁵ There was thus an important need to integrate and make relevant the basic disciplines to the management programme of the Institute.

In fact, according to the interviewee,¹⁰⁶ there existed within the IIMC at present sharp differences between different groups of faculty members which could be diagrammatically expressed as follows:

management faculty	n e u t r a l	environment faculty
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This division in the faculty base was responsible for a fragmented organizational structure marked by isolated pockets of islands within the institution.

These views of Professor A were put across to other faculty members in the course of personal interviews. The response was mixed and varied with the disciplinary orientation of the faculty member. Amongst the management faculty, the views of Professor A were mostly agreed with. Thus it was asserted by a faculty member,

A commonality of approach and unity of sense of purpose has been missing within the faculty group itself...In the IIMC, the stage has been reached where such differences of outlook and approach

have reached a stage where it is almost impossible to talk about any unified goal. 107

Another senior faculty member commented,

This is a Management Institute, the Government of India in its wisdom created it as such. But many of our faculty members do not have the inclination to understand what management is about even though they have been in the IIMC for a long time. In fact, some of them have a great disdain for the subject which is not right.

Whoever comes, whatever their interests, I feel that all faculty members should have a basic sympathy and understanding of management. Otherwise, the IIMC becomes a way of just earning their living while pursuing their own interests. Their contribution to management education becomes questionable.

This division within the Institute distorts institutional objectives. While individual research is not inhibited, the collective focus is blurred and the institutional image is affected. 108

The immediate past Director of the IIMC, Mr Hiten Bhaya also acknowledged this division as problematic.

If the same kind of dichotomy between the basic disciplines and functional areas remains, we are really having the same kind of departmentalisation as exists in the universities without calling it so. I think this is one of the dangers to be guarded against. 109

In sharp contrast to their colleagues in the management group, faculty members in the basic disciplines did not see the fragmentation issue as problematic. A leading Indian economist associated with the IIMC said that he did not perceive the issue in those terms. The varied orientation of faculty members provided for diversity of outlook which was functional to the development of the IIMC. However, the same professor, when questioned on what according to him should be the special role of the IIMC, remarked

I have not been particularly concerned with management education as such, so I really cannot answer that question. 110

A younger colleague in the Economics area commented,

There will always be questions asked about the kinds of issues raised by us. Our decisions regarding several courses, for example those on Transnational Corporations and Agrarian systems has been questioned. What enhances our ability to fight within the system is autonomy coupled with well recognised rigorous research. Even in the other IIM's there are people with similar interests, but they are not so well treated. The fact that IIMC also has some older well credentialled people makes it an easier place for the younger scholars to pursue their research interests.¹¹¹

Yet another group of faculty members designated in the above diagram as "neutral", defended this diversity of interest and outlook within the Institute.

If there is non-homogeneity in terms of application and understanding of management, I think it is a plus point as long as conflict does not ensue.¹¹²

Another suggestion was that, while the Institute was indeed divided in outlook and orientation between separate groups competing for power the redeeming feature was that,

We seem to do working and one good thing that I can see is that we have the capacity to deal with a crisis situation. Because of the awareness of the faculty members, we have been able to take very correct decisions unanimously, during a crisis period. In general however, correct decisions are seldom taken. This often leads to the generation of a lot of unhappiness and dissatisfaction.¹¹³

However, the present Director of the IIMC, Professor R.P. Aiyar, refuted assertions regarding the fragmentation outcome :

I think the polarisation into Basic disciplines and Management is not the right way to look at the issue.

(It is true), that there are two distinct points of view but I think they complement one another. Thus in terms of the organization of the courses at the Institute also, there are courses which need to be taught by people trained in the basic disciplines, while there are also courses in the functional areas of management. What is important for the Institute is the quality of work which resulted out of the interaction within the faculty and also the quality of the faculty. There, I would say we have an excellent research record.

We have also realized that we cannot treat the Institute of Management just like a business school in the USA. There, it is just a business school, with separate departments of Economics etc, in the University within which the business school is located. The conception here is that it is an "Institution of National Importance". A "Centre of Excellence" has to provide a basic environment for work, including work in the social sciences and that is what we have attempted to do in the IIMC.

There is a need for both the basic disciplines and the applied disciplines to coexist within the Institute and to help each other grow.

The perception by some that basic discipline people lack an understanding of management education is simply not right. They have been here from the inception and they know what management education is.¹¹⁴

It can be observed from the preceding discussion that clearly, differences of opinion regarding the gravity of this outcome exist amongst faculty members, the management specialists perceive the growing dominance of basic discipline specialists, both in terms of numerical strength and course time allotted as a threat to the core activity of the IIMC, i.e., management education. The fact that the staff in the basic disciplines are also found to share a common Marxist perspective does not attenuate the fears of those professing the belief that efficient "management is the means to improve all performance of activities within an organisation",¹¹⁵ a belief inextricably linked with the workings of capitalist enterprise.

In sum, a conflicting situation does exist within the IIMC, with each specialist group restricting their attention to their areas of

expertise, leading, as is suggested by Galtung, to the loss of a holistic perspective in the future growth and development of the Institution.

Outcome of Metropolitan Penetration ?

Having acknowledged the existence of a fragmented faculty outlook at the IIMC, the question of interest is whether this outcome can be linked in a concrete way to the emphasis placed on disciplinary specialization in the period of initial collaboration or is this fragmentation endemic to the specific environmental condition within which the IIMC was established and nurtured ?

An important way in which the MIT collaborators exercised influence on the IIMC was through actively developing institutional strength in the quantitative areas and basic disciplines. These were the areas in which the collaborators were themselves well established and they sought to impart the same orientations to the recipient institution. In itself, this cannot be claimed as an undesirable influence as it is not unusual for institutions to develop a high level of expertise in some areas rather than others. The undesirable outcome, as suggested by some faculty members,¹¹⁶ was that the excessive emphasis given to basic disciplines and quantitative areas in the initial period of collaboration at the IIMC resulted in the relative neglect of functional areas and case-based studies. This initial orientation was reinforced by subsequent faculty development policies adopted at the IIMC.

Linked to the issue of continued allegiance to the collaborating institution's curriculum emphasis is the policy of faculty recruitment and development adopted from the outset has the MIT technical assistants.

In Part III of the study, it has been suggested that the policies of the technical assistants, in this respect, was to recruit to the IIMC a highly qualified set of individuals from various disciplinary orientations both in India and the United States. The criteria for faculty recruitment in the view of the MIT advisers, was that appointed members should possess the competence necessary for employment in the metropolitan institution itself. The rationale was that, if they were good enough for the Sloan School of Industrial Management, their capability for the Indian Institute of Management could not be questioned. Moreover, there was a tendency to cluster faculty recruitment around disciplinary areas strongest at the MIT, notably Economics and the Quantitative areas.¹¹⁷ What was deemphasized in these policies, was the use of Ford Foundation funds to send potential faculty members for doctoral training or short term orientation to the metropolitan institution.

This policy was extremely successful in the initial period of collaboration i.e., upto 1965 when IIMC records show a very impressive faculty base.¹¹⁸ In terms of the future development of the IIMC, according to some commentators, such an initial policy has proved shortsighted. Ganesh¹¹⁹ in a comparative analysis of the IIMA and IIMC suggests that it was the limited use of an "enculturation mechanism" in the IIMC which has resulted in the lack of cohesiveness amongst the faculty members at the latter institution. According to Ganesh, the decision taken by the Harvard collaborators and the IIMA's Indian leadership to send all prospective faculty members to Harvard Business School for the International Teachers Programme provided the potential faculty members with a homogeneity of outlook. Since the procedures of faculty recruitment were different in the IIMC, the enculturation mechanism could not be operationalized and the

resulting diversity of outlook and ideological orientation has induced fragmentation. Moreover while in the IIMA.

Developing with a new institution provided the early recruits an opportunity to invest in the development of the institution. This provided a great cohesion among the faculty. In the case of the IIMC, the early recruits did not consider their professional standing as something related to the development of the institution since many of them were already well-known in their respective fields. Further, there was no conscious mechanism of enculturation and although it was envisaged that faculty development would accrue through doctoral programme, this did not result in the IIMC.¹²⁰

Fragmentation was further affected by conditions intrinsic to the institution and its environmental setting, for example, the large scale and sudden exodus of well-known faculty members in 1965-1966, created serious shortages in faculty availability for courses advertised.¹²¹ In the rush to appoint new faculty members to fill the gaps created, the new Director failed to take into account the long term needs of the institution.

A final condition, responsible for the aggravation of the fragmentation phenomenon has been the volatile leadership patterns at the IIMC.¹²² In contrast to the traditional professional control structure endemic to the British University a much more flexible administrative system was set up in the IIMC at the time of establishment. The distinctive feature of the new administrative system was that the faculty members were invited to participate actively in decision making on both academic and administrative matters, through a system of Academic committees.¹²³

Given this flexibility in control structures the role of the Director assumed even more importance. Indeed, it was required that he should be a man of charisma as well as high public acceptability. Moreover, he would be required to devote considerable time to the job of institution-

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building. This led to the Indian faculty growing increasingly vigilant and assertive in institutional matters both academic and administrative. By the time Chandy had left and before the new Director was appointed the faculty at the IIMC had assumed a strong voice in decision making, to a level neither anticipated nor too welcome to the metropolitan agencies.

It was in this period that a vacuum in institutional leadership was created. Transfer of power relating to academic administration took place from the hands of the MIT technical assistance directly to the Faculty members, without passing through an important intermediate channel, i.e., the Director. This was further complicated by the transferred patterns of decision making through different committees which had been adopted at the IIMC 125

In the ensuing administrative confusion, space was created for particular individuals or groups within the IIMC's faculty to move in and assume power. The foundations of the present administrative culture of the IIMC were thus laid in this period, a culture characterized by ineffective institutional leadership and a fragmented but powerful faculty group. However, it is important to note that since 1977 with the appointment of Hiten Bhaya as Director and the continued efforts of the present Director Professor R.P. Aiyar, leadership has been more stable at the IIMC.

Present Situation

While the actors have changed and stability in leadership has entered the system the extent to which the power structure which operates at the IIMC is perceived by some faculty members as being substantially

unaltered is demonstrated by the following remarks of Professor A :

Over a period of time a culture has developed at the IIMC whereby the faculty reigns supreme over the process of decision making. While formally the task of policy formulation should be that of the Board of Governors on which two faculty members are elected every year, do facto the faculty through frequent meetings is in complete control. The Director consults the faculty on all issues and even the choice of Director is made by the faculty.¹²⁶

Professor A, further suggested that given this power structure within the Institute in which the faculty members formed the decision making body, the factional divisions in their midst made any cohesive approach to institution building very difficult. In his words,

Integration within this power structure becomes very difficult. The Institute in my opinion is going into different directions. There is no clear direction or mission before it. Any institutional activity depends more on the wishes of particular or groups of faculty members who are controlling the Institute.¹²⁷

Conclusion

In the preceding analysis, an attempt has been made to discuss the fragmentation phenomenon as found present in the IIMC in the light of some general assertions of the dependency theorists. The starting hypothesis provided by Galtung, that fragmentation is a consequence of the overspecialization induced by Western technology is only partially confirmed.¹²⁸

The polarisation of the loyalties of IIMC faculty members into basic disciplines and functional management areas is only symptomatic of the lack of cohesion within the Institute. The roots lie deeper and can be traced to the curricular orientation, policies for faculty recruitment

and development and the administrative patterns adopted at the time of establishment on the advice of metropolitan agencies. The structural biases thus inherited were, in the case of the IIMC, further reinforced by a volatile political situation, unstable institutional leadership and a powerful faculty group with a strong commitment to the norm of Academic freedom. It is in the complex interplay between the conditions identified above that an explanation for the fragmentation phenomenon can be found.

A summary statement can thus read : There exists at the IIMC today a fragmented faculty structure and outlook which is inhibiting the achievement of stated goals. While the fragmentation phenomenon is closely linked with the penetration of the metropolitan agencies in the IIMC a satisfactory explanation must take into account other specific conditions which have had a determining influence. The suggestion of dependency theorists while partially confirmed are found to be too generalized to be of major predictive value.

LOW DEVELOPMENTAL ORIENTATION

Another distortion precipitated by the institutional transfer of metropolitan higher education structures, is the skewing of research activities in the peripheral institutions towards the norms, criteria of excellence and method of enquiry considered appropriate in the metropolitan institution. As a result, issues of greater relevance to the peripheral society are ignored in the research activity of the institution, thus inhibiting both the institution and the larger society from attaining the goals of 'independent development' or self-reliance.¹²⁹

Establishment of research and teaching 'subsidiaries' in the poor countries is cited by as a central mechanism through which metropolitan penetration can take place. The contention of dependency writers is that the global pattern of economic domination-dependence is replicated within the educational systems of metropolitan and peripheral societies.

The present international educational equation has certain institutional and academic centres that give direction, provide models and function as pinnacles of academic research. At the opposite end of the spectrum are universities which are peripheral in the sense that they copy developments from abroad, produce little that is original and are generally not at the frontiers of knowledge.¹³⁰

The central issues to be explored in the following analysis is (a) whether this particular outcome, i.e., structural distortion of research agenda, priorities and practices has taken place in the IIMC ? (b) If so, to what specific forms of metropolitan penetration can this outcome be linked, and (c) In what ways is such an orientation inhibiting the Institute in the achievement of stated goals. The concluding statement of the analysis will focus on existing reform efforts in this area.

Review of the Literature

Literature on Indian Management is replete with indictments on the nature of research activities carried out in institutions like the IIMC. The gist of criticisms is well expressed in the following remark,

Our universities and research organizations and that ubiquitous institution called the 'seminar' are notorious for the consumption of manpower and financial resources. But we in our country have been unsuccessful in creating the appropriate infrastructure for the generation and critical evaluation of new knowledge... our research as well as policy orientation is perhaps too often either a duplication of effort originating in social and economic contexts vastly different from our own; or worse still the direction is controlled by extrasocietal forces. 131

While the 'fact' of dependency in research is accepted by most commentators, opinions differ on the diagnosis of the cause of dependency. Two broad strands of thought can be identified, each with its own zealous following.

The first, more dominant group of commentators have adopted the adaptationist argument. These theorists accept the intrinsic value of the institution of professional management as the means to attain economic development and technological achievement for the 'developing' countries. They acknowledge, however, that the transplanting of Western management knowhow has been, 'overshadowed by a neglect of the cultural nuances unique to the various nations, resulting in suboptimisation of efforts'.

Not only has the culture - specificity issue been ignored, but also the gaps in research data on indigenous management has led to the neglect and denigration of the traditional value - systems, norms of interpersonal behaviour and other indigenous business practices. Moreover, major sectoral

needs of agriculture, health, education systems, transport and communication have been ignored by the existing researchers in favour of the elitist "Wops" or Western oriented private sector. Of even greater significance is the assertion by some critics that the management schools have, because of their elitist research orientation, 'made little effort to understand the working of the public sector', such neglect has led to considerable damages to both the image and future potential of the public sector.

The solution to these problems, lies, according to these commentators, in the fostering of a vigorous "transactional relationship" between the IIMC and its "active environment". Research efforts should aim at the development of "more relevant forms of management", to suit out own culture and resource position", such a position does not imply rejection of Western management techniques and practices, but rather their modification and adaptation to the peculiar needs of the environment.

In recent years, however, the limited adaptation argument has given way to a more holistic attack on the institution of professional management itself. Arguing from the dependency perspective, some writers have sought to locate or diagnose the problem of the low developmental orientation in research in the context of underdevelopment theories. The central argument in this school is,

That management as we know it and teach it and use it, because of its value prerequisites and the processes it generates, has a high probability resulting in the same socio-economic ends of widening disparities if introduced in any underdeveloping economic state. Therefore, while the goals of sectoral development as urged by the one group would be perfectly laudable, there is, in fact, no real difference between the two orientation because of the (inevitably) common ultimate consequence. 132

In consistency with their theoretical position, these writers suggest that reform in research orientations of institutions like the IIMC, cannot take place through 'peripheral adjustments' as suggested by the adaptationists. The assumption that technology and management techniques are value-neutral cannot be sustained. The need, therefore, is for wholesale 'systemic changes'.

It is interesting to note that both groups of commentators have criticised the research output of the IIM's for their dependent orientation. The difference lies in the diagnosis of the malady. While one group sees the continued dependency as an outcome of incomplete adaptation efforts, the other group claims that dependency is endemic to the historical evolution of the management movement, and therefore 'inevitably' incurable.

The arguments of the second school are appealing. However, value of their theses like that of their ideological forbears, the dependency theorists is limited by the absence of concrete historical or empirical evidence.

Research Orientation at the IIMC

As discussed in the literature review, both the 'moderate and radical' critics of research efforts in Indian Management have identified an 'identity - crisis' within the research community. This crisis is related primarily to a dependent research orientation, as a result of which, the problems the researchers tackled became irrelevant and the solutions insignificant because of the researchers drawing inspiration from outside sources. The question to be investigated in this section is, whether this situation can be found present in recent research activities at the IIMC.

Research activities pursued at the IIMC, within this period included publications (books and journals, research projects as well as fellowship theses. Broad distinctions can also be drawn between the research orientation of faculty members from the basic disciplines, those from the Quantitative Areas and the functional management faculty.

The Nanda Committee on the Institutes of Management provides a comparative analysis of the research output of the three IIM's. According to the Committee, while the faculty of the IIMC contribute through research and publication, an average of about "two books and 40 articles/papers a year" the IIMA faculty's research output averages about "17 books, 112 cases/notes and 18.4 articles per year". While the IIMC has since 1973 completed 45 research projects and has now about 30 projects in hand, the IIMA faculty members, have in marked contrast completed over 230 research projects and are presently working on 50 projects. The contrast in the third major research activity is less marked. The IIMC has fifteen completed fellowship theses to its credit as compared to twenty five in IIMA.¹³³ These figures demonstrate the low research output of the IIMC faculty as compared to their counterparts at the IIMA.

However, it was argued by faculty members of the IIMC¹³⁴ that while the quantitative data on research as presented above (on the basis of the Nanda Committee report) is useful, it is limited by its superficial analysis in terms of quantity alone; sheer volume in terms of books, journal articles, research projects or doctoral theses is not an adequate criterion to judge the research performance of an institution. The qualitative aspect is ignored in such an analysis. Moreover, such data provides no clues regarding the institution's enclave orientation in relation to its research activities.

The following analysis will attempt to overcome this shortcoming by examining the qualitative orientation of recent research efforts at the IIMC. Since an investigation of the 'dependent' research orientation of the publication of IIMC faculty members has already been undertaken in Part III of the thesis, attention in the following sections will be restricted to the research projects and doctoral programmes at the IIMC in recent years.

Research Projects

The lines of demarcation between research publications and research projects at the IIMC are blurred, due to the complementary, often overlapping nature of these two activities. The findings of research projects are generally published, similarly an inspiring research publication can lead to the undertaking of a more extensive research project on the subject. Given this overlap, it is not surprising to note that research projects like research publication, at the IIMC have in recent years been relatively independent of metropolitan influence. While the degree of independence varies between the different disciplinary groups in the case of research projects too, what is clearly more evident in the case of research projects is a greater emphasis on the relevance objective.

The developmental orientation found present in the recent research projects of the IIMC, compares favourably not only with the publication output, but also represents a significant shift in orientation from projects taken up in the first fifteen years of the IIMC's establishment. Despite this welcome innovation, major shortcomings remain in this sphere of research activity which prevent maximum optimization of effort.

It has been suggested earlier,¹³⁵ that the research publication output of the IIMC continues to be closely tied to the disciplinary orientation of concerned faculty members. One undesirable outcome of this trend, is the sharp fragmentation existing between the 'basic discipline' and 'functional management' and other faculty groups at the IIMC, which inhibits the formation of a cohesive institutional research base. Research projects, on the other hand, appear to have overcome this institutional handicap in recent years. Many of the projects in the period under review, appear to have transcended disciplinary boundaries. The focus has been on the analysis of development problems.

In recent years,¹³⁶ while approximately half the research project continued to be based on the disciplinary interests of faculty members, there can be observed a growing trend to transcend disciplinary boundaries in projects dealing with developmental issues. The emphasis in such projects has been on the "integrated application of social and management sciences to questions of fundamental importance for management and development as a whole".¹³⁷ Such a holistic perspective militates effectively against the attack of critics who accuse IIM research activities of having a low developmental orientation.

Even in the research projects, dealing with functional areas of management there can be observed in recent years a significant shift in orientation. While in the first decade of the IIMC's establishment the majority of research projects dealt with problems faced by private enterprise, in recent years the emphasis has been on the Public sector, Small-scale industries and Traditional Indian practices-hitherto neglected areas of research.

Recent years, have also witnessed increasing concern at the IIMC, with non-traditional sectors of management, like Agriculture, Health-care and Education. The aim in such projects is to apply managerial tools and techniques to enhance the efficiency of these sectors. While the "non-dependent" orientation of such activity has been questioned,¹³⁸ it cannot be denied that such efforts, however limited, represent an effort to deal with some basic problems facing Indian society at large. On the whole, it can be suggested that research projects taken up recently display a non-dependent orientation. The increasing concern with developmental issues is also welcome. The impact of these projects in developing a coherent base at the IIMC, has however, been limited by certain structural constraints.

Existing Constraints

A major drawback in this sphere of activity at the IIMC, has been that in quantitative terms, the research output has not been as impressive as its sister institution the IIMA. This limitation, has arisen largely due to the laissezfaire attitude adopted by both the MIT technical assistants and their ^{Indian} counterparts in the early years. In recent years, IIMC records show some improvement in this sphere. In the period under review, an average of twelve new projects have been sanctioned annually. This is in addition to an average of 23 ongoing projects from previous years.

A second limitation, in this sphere has been the delay or failure in completion of previous projects. An average of only eight projects have been completed per year within this period, in contrast to the large number of ongoing as well as new projects sanctioned at the IIMC. The above figures indicate that while IIMC faculty have shown enthusiasm in starting

new projects the completion rate has been low. The delay in completion of projects is further demonstrated by the fact that out of the thirty-three ongoing projects of the period 1983-84, eleven had been started earlier than or during 1979-1980.

Given these two limitations, the innovative and "development-oriented" thrust in recent research project activity has not been able to achieve its full potential.

Fellowship Programme

Doctoral theses constitute a central component of the research output of any flourishing institution of higher education. The doctoral programme has also been traditionally accepted as an appropriate means of training a team of ^{ma}tire faculty members and researchers. It was with these objectives i.e., " the generation of an indigenous research - based management literature; the application of such knowledge in new fields, and the development of professional competence in teaching and research and in the practice of specialised managerial functions"; that the IIMC instituted its fellowship or 'doctoral-level' programme, in 1971.¹³⁹

Fourteen years after the establishment of the programme, it is widely recognised that the programme has succeeded only to a limited extent.¹⁴⁰ The follow up figures bear further testimony to the dismal performance. In contrast to the tremendous competition for places in the PGDM programme,,the Fellowship programme has not been able to attract a large number of candidates. Thus in 1983-84 while only 11.2% of the total applicants for the PGDM programme were called for interview, and only 2% enrolled for the programme; in contrast 25% of the applicants for the Fellowship Programme were interviewed and 20% of the total applicants

enrolled for the course.¹⁴¹ It was also informally admitted at the IIMC, that some of the candidates accepted for the course, were those who had not qualified fully for the more prestigious PGDM programme.¹⁴²

Moreover, in recent years the largest intake of students for the fellowship programme has been 10 students in 1979, out of which 2 students dropped out soon after joining. Not only has the IIMC failed to attract the high quality applicants required for a successful fellowship programme, but the enrolled candidates have also had a high drop-out rate. As reported by the Nanda Committee, about "1/3 of those that joined had discontinued"¹⁴³ Uptil now, only 21 students have successfully defended their theses out of which two have been Research Fellows of the IIMC. However, it is important to note, that there is little doubt that the fellowship theses submitted so far, have been of a high academic quality.

Notwithstanding, the high academic level of the theses so far submitted, the fellowship programme of the IIMC remains plagued by certain structural limitations, which inhibit it from achieving its objectives. This failure has been recognised widely both within the IIMC and by external bodies like the Nanda Committee. The central issue was graphically albeit polemically stated by a concerned faculty member : "What is the point of producing the most brilliant fellowship thesis, if we can produce only one in ten years".¹⁴⁴

In this sphere of research activity at the IIMC, it can be argued that the positive contributions of the Fellowship programme at the IIMC have been greatly limited by (a) its failure to attract a high quality and committed student group and (b) the high drop-out ratio 'amongst recruited students'.¹⁴⁵

Outcome of Metropolitan Penetration

Metropolitan influence over the research activity at the IIMC has taken different forms over the years. At the time of establishment, both the metropolitan agencies i.e., the MIT technical assistant as well as the Ford Foundation consultants endorsed the value of this activity for¹⁴⁵ the future development of the IIMC. However, little effort was made either by the metropolitan agencies or their Indian counterpart to channelise this activity in a particular direction. Given the paucity of literature in the management field at that time all research projects and publications were considered useful. Choice of projects thus depended either on the¹⁴⁷ individual initiative of faculty members. The sponsors of research projects at the IIMC in the first decade came mostly from the private industrial sector and consequently the emphasis in research in this period was on the problems of industrial management in the private sector.

In short, it can be suggested that research projects in the first decade lacked a sustained institutional focus and were taken up on an adhoc basis.¹⁴⁸

It is interesting to observe that metropolitan influence in this sphere of Institutional activity gained closer^{control} in the second decade of the IIMC's existence. It was at this time that previously dominant ties to the metropolitan agencies, i.e., MIT technical assistants as well as dependence on Ford Foundation grants for general institutional development were being gradually severed. Having decided to reduce general aid as much as possible. Ford Foundation personnel sought to maintain links with their grantee institution by sponsoring specific research projects. Thus, in the period 1971-1975, the IIMC witnessed the establishment of five

'centres' of research each headed by a chosen faculty member. These centres aimed to sponsor research on particular themes and were provided funds for several ancillary services and equipments by the Ford Foundation.¹⁴⁹

The third major shift in policy formulation and adoption regarding research activity at the IIMC has taken place since 1976, when the five 'centres' for research established earlier were amalgamated under the Centre for Management and Development Studies. This move was in response to the problematic situation which had emerged as a result of the establishment of the five centres. As reported by the Ford Foundation programme officer, Kamla Chowdhury.

It seems that senior faculty used this device to develop areas of research and autonomy from institutional norms of functioning. With separate budgetary provisions, they could hire their own research staff and by pass the Research Committee. This organisational arrangement in due course created considerable tensions between faculty associated with Centres and faculty not associated with Centres.¹⁵⁰

The task of the CMDS is to sponsor research projects as well as provide seed money for externally sponsored founded research project channelled through the institute.

Fellowship Programme

It is ironical, though perhaps perfectly consistent, with the logic of 'metropolitan penetration' that the Fellowship programme of the IIMC, started well after the period of active collaboration, remains upto today, the one programme at the Institute, most visibly constrained by the strategic decision making of the metropolitan agencies, especially the Ford Foundation.

The failure of the IIMC in this sphere can be linked centrally, though not exclusively to one strategic decision made by the Indian authorities at the time of IIMC's establishment, based largely on the advice of the Ford Foundation and the Robbins report. This decision, discussed in greater detail ¹⁵¹ was to retain 'Autonomous Status' for the Institute, even at the cost of denial of degree-granting status. This decision was made from a short-term perspective and without adequate recognition of the negative consequences it may have.

One of the important negative outcomes of this decision has been the limited success of a 'core' programme of the IIMC; i.e., the Fellowship Programme.

The Fellowship programme, without the formal Ph.D degree stamp, had not been able to recruit the talented student body required to develop a strong research base in the institution. This is because the attractiveness of the programme is considerably reduced for prospective students in the absence of a Ph.D degree at the end of the course.

Another important way in which the Fellowship programme is hampered due to the absence of degree-granting status, is in the inadequate placement opportunities available to its graduates. Ideally, doctoral students of the IIMC should be absorbed by the Management Department of the Universities and thereby contribute to improvement in quality of training provided by the Universities. However, this has not been possible due to the inability of the IIMC to provide the doctoral degree.

Another factor, related to the planning of the programme, which has provoked fierce controversy at the IIMC, and affected the programme adversely is the degree of specialization to be allowed to a fellowship student. It has

been discussed elsewhere, that a major rift exists at the IIMC between faculty members belonging to the basic discipline groups and those specializing in the functional areas of management. Unfortunately, the conflict has spilled over to the Fellowship programme.

Such fragmentation has resulted in recent years in fellowship programme which allow for specialisation in all branches of management including the basic disciplines. Such a move has been strongly resisted by some faculty members who insist,

A fellowship student must do some management courses otherwise it is taking liberty too far....A management institute must give much higher priority to functional areas in terms of course-package etc, rather than basic disciplines. Otherwise, it will become a second-rate university. 152

The basic discipline specialists on the other hand, argue that given IIMC's strong base in this area, there is no reason why fellowship students should not derive the advantage. In fact, three out of the twenty one theses submitted so far have been in the Economics groups.

So the arguments go on. And the fellowship programme continues to be plagued by conflict. As commented by one faculty - member.

Such conflict distorts institutional objectives. While individual research is not inhibited, the collective focus is blurred and the institutional image cannot be established. 153

Summary

A review of recent research activities at the IIMC suggests, that even though significant efforts have been made in recent years to grapple

with developmental problems, due to several constraining factors, stated goals have only been partially achieved.

The 'developmental orientation' has been found to vary between the three different research activities, with 'research projects' making the most consistent and long ranging efforts in this direction, often culminating in research publications. The fellowship programme, on the other hand, has been able to make only a marginal contribution both in terms of training other researcher^s, as well as producing a substantial volume of research.

Research efforts, in all three areas, moreover, have been found closely linked to the disciplinary orientation of particular faculty groups. Again, only research projects in recent years, have made a viable effort to transcend disciplinary boundaries.

Relative independence in research orientation is a valuable asset of the IIMC. Independence, however, is not enough. Research efforts will be truly meaningful only when geared towards fulfilling the primary institutional objectives of relevance to the Indian environment. As pointed out by Padaki,¹⁵⁴ the present effort of diversifying research to meet sectoral needs is only a partial solution to the existing problem in the research efforts. It is not enough to transfer tools and techniques developed in the West, to the fields of health, agriculture or education. Much deeper analysis is required of the indigenous environment, which is possible only after more sustained and coordinate efforts in both volume and areas of research. The sadly neglected development of case-studies is one such area.

PART - V

Beyond Educational Dependency : A Concluding Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Recent debates in Comparative education have focused attention on the issues of cultural domination and educational dependency. Central to these debates is the role of foreign aid and technical assistance in creating and reinforcing conditions of dependency within recipient institutions. In the absence of coherent theoretical formulations and unsubstantiated by either historical or empirical evidence, there can be found existing within the literature a variety of untested assertions regarding the phenomenon of educational dependency.

In the course of this study, an attempt has been made to abstract from the literature, three organizing assumptions regarding the phenomenon of educational dependency. Part II, III and IV of the thesis have attempted to examine the validity of each of these assumptions with the methodological support of the Holmesian problem (solving) approach and historical and empirical evidence related to the Indian Institute of Management of Calcutta. The IIMC, based on the model of the SSM at MIT, and sponsored by the Ford Foundation, is assumed to represent a concrete instance of educational dependency created through the processes of metropolitan penetration and comprador enlistment.

The finding of this study is that the broad claims made in the dependency literature can only be partially sustained through the specific case-study of the IIMC.

Metropolitan Penetration and Educational Dependency

Firstly, statements regarding perpetual dependency do not appear to be justified in the Indian case study offered above. The Holmesian distinction between the processes of policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation helps to assess the defacto effectiveness of metropolitan penetration as compared to its formative influence at the level of policy formulation and policy adoption. It is discovered that while the metropolitan agency's (particularly the Ford Foundation's) influence was very strong at the level of policy formulation, the MIT technical advisers dictated the processes of policy adoption. At the level of policy implementation, the concerned Indian group is seen to ^{have} assumed more or less complete control, especially once the direct participation of the American technical assistants was reduced.

The distinction between the processes of policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation can be seen operating in every institutional aspect identified by the Holmesian IBE taxonomy. While it is clear that metropolitan agencies, particularly the MIT technical advisers attempted to replicate within the IIMC, the academic norms and institutional practices adopted at the metropolitan institution, the de facto implementation of these policies depended largely on an unquestioning acceptance of these norms and practices by the IIMC faculty and administrative leadership. This acceptance was less readily available at the IIMC, than anticipated by the metropolitan agencies, and remained a source of disappointment to them over the period of active collaboration and even afterwards.

Moreover, by the end of the first phase of active collaboration a strategic decision was made by the IIMC to move away from the strong ties

of initial dependency, by negotiating a restatement of the original Memorandum of Understanding between the Institute and its metropolitan sponsors. The new Memorandum marked an important breakthrough in existing dependency linkages, by placing the initiative for future technical assistance arrangements on the IIMC, rather than the metropolitan agencies, as had so far been the case. Thus, less than five years after establishment, the Indian management Institutes can be observed as adopting a stance of relative independence towards their metropolitan sponsors, and even articulating a keen desire to diversify their linkages with North American institutions, other than the original technical collaborators.

The Ford Foundation's support to its Indian grantees in negotiating this shift towards independence is also of interest as it stands out as an important ⁺reputation of the 'conspiratorial' role, ascribed in the literature, to agencies like the Ford Foundation, in maintaining and perpetuating conditions of educational dependency. However, it is important to recognise that this move towards independence, also coincided with a policy decision of the Ford Foundation to phase out its grant support to the IIMC, a substantial part of which was allotted to the MIT technical assistants.

In fact, since the late sixties, the direct intervention of the metropolitan agencies' in the functioning of the IIMC has declined steadily. While the MIT technical assistants continued to assist the IIMC Directors in recruitment of faculty from American Universities, their "voice" in decision making was virtually nonexistent. The Ford Foundation, on the other hand, due to its reduced but continuing financial support, remained actively informed of institutional developments at the IIMC. As with other grantee institutions, the issue of appropriate leadership at the IIMC

remained an important preoccupation of the Foundation. The volatile leadership situation at the IIMC, combined with a hostile (as far as the Foundation was concerned) political environment, at times led to the Foundation actively regretting the initial decision of locating the IIMC at Calcutta, even to the extent of the Foundation contemplating an excising of its support to the institution altogether.

In the seventies, an important shift in the Ford Foundations' grant policy to the IIMC took place. In accordance with a general policy decision to reduce institution building grants in favour of specific grants related to research projects in priority areas determined by the Foundation, the general institutional support grant to the IIMC was drastically reduced. On the other hand, liberal grants were made available to specific research projects started with the active support of the Ford Foundation. This shift in policy introduced a new dimension in the Institute's relationship with the Ford Foundation. The IIMC, now, rather than being viewed as a protegee grantee institution, was regarded by Ford Foundation officials as an institution which could on the basis of its strength, compete for Ford Foundation support along with other research and educational institutions. Moreover, it also gave the Foundation a hand in determining which research projects should be taken up and by whom.

Today, the IIMC has no formal linkages with the Sloan School of Management at MIT. Ford Foundation assistance too is sporadic and no longer forms a substantial part of the Institute's resources. The previous association however, has certainly left its mark. As Kamla Chowdhry comments,

Although MIT provided invaluable help in the development of the IIMC, it is also likely that this heavy reliance created at the same time conflicts of autonomy and self-determination.

In what ways does the initial dependency affect institutional activities in the IIMC today ? In a recent series of interviews, faculty members of the IIMC were asked to comment on the dependency issue. The overwhelming response was an association of dependency with formal linkages, and a subsequent denial of dependency now that formal linkages were severed. The continuing impact of the previous association was, on the other hand clearly acknowledged.

It is also interesting to note the nostalgia with which present IIMC faculty recalled the heyday of technical collaboration. The Ford Foundation, was remembered as a "benevolent donor" rather than as an aid agency attempting to impose the value-judgements of its personnel on the institutional development of the IIMC. While reaction, to the role played by MIT advisers, was more mixed, most faculty interviewed agreed that the original association with the SSM at MIT, "enhanced the prestige of the project and provided a strong sense of direction to the institutionalization of the IIMC".

Given these observations, and the significant though spasmodic attempt made by the IIMC towards the goals of indigenization and relevance in their teaching, research and consultancy activities, it is clear that the validity of the first organizing assumption of the study must be seriously questioned. The example of the IIMC clearly demonstrates, that peripheral institutions created through the processes of metropolitan penetration are not destined to interact with their metropolitan sponsors in a perpetually subordinate and dependent relationship. Moreover, while institutional activities may broadly conform to metropolitan practice, an attempt at indigenization and responsiveness to the specificity of the Indian situation is clearly evident.

The Instrumental Role of the Comprador Elite

An important condition for ineffective metropolitan penetration at the IIMC, can also be related to the second organizing assumption of the study. It is widely observed, in the literature that processes of metropolitan penetration require for their effective operation, a "comprador elite" who help to propagate and ensure widespread acceptability of the metropolitan message within instrumental sections of the peripheral society. A primary task for the metropolitan agencies is thus to enlist the active support of this 'elite group', through a variety of mechanisms.

The case of the IIMC, offers a degree of precision to this over-generalized dependency theory argument. Elite cooptation, it is accepted, plays a crucial role in the process of metropolitan penetration, but strategies of comprador enlistment must aim at cooptation of different elite groups over different phases of the project. Moreover, not all sections of the instrumental elite can be suitably "homogenized" as demonstrated in the example of the IIMC.

In the case of the Indian Management Institutes, the importance of awakening the minds of influential elite groups to the need for professionalized management was recognised from the outset by the Ford Foundation. For this purpose, it suitably deployed a variety of strategies of elite cooptation from the mid-fifties onwards. These strategies, included amongst others, the sponsorship of American consultants to report on the Management since in India, the funding of short term visits of senior managers to different management Institutes abroad, the sponsorship of a study tour by strategically located academics, managers and government officials to different American Universities, and the starting of an Annual Advanced Management programme staffed by MIT academics, in conjunction

with AIMA. At a more direct level, discussions were conducted by the Ford Foundation representative with influential policy makers including Prime Minister Nehru. These strategies, along with an officially stated need to enhance the quality of managerial manpower in the country, provided the starting impetus for the establishment of the two management Institutes at Ahmedabad and Calcutta.

The Ford Foundations' strategy, at this level, it is important to note, was extremely successful and the decision to establish the institutions was made without much investigation of the relevance of the programmes offered to India's development needs. There was, it appears, in the rush for professionalizing management, a relative neglect of the question "what is to be transferred", the whole bag of tools and techniques imported into the country by the technical assistants were viewed as eminently suitable or at least capable of easy adaptation to the specific needs of the nation.

The second phase of the metropolitan agencies penetration of the IIMC required the careful selection and appropriate socialization of the administrative leadership (The Director) as well as faculty base within the IIMC. These groups were viewed by the metropolitan agencies as instrumental for the successful institutionalization of the IIMC innovation along the lines proposed by the Robbins Report and the MIT technical assistants. For this purpose, it has been noted, the Ford Foundation negotiated with the Government of India, at an early stage attractive pay scales as well as allowances for consultancy by prospective faculty. The metropolitan agencies were also actively involved in the selection of the first Director as well as the initial faculty base of the IIMC.

However, in the course of policy implementation, metropolitan intentions in this sphere too could only be partially realized. The first Director, of the IIMC, Mr. K.T. Chandy, a man of excellent reputation, was not "comprador" material, and the initial faculty group chosen, were each endowed with high expertise in their own fields and not overly responsive to socialization attempts by the MIT advisers. Moreover, as pointed out in Part III of the study, the MIT advisers, on their part too, deemphasized the need for substantial allocation of the Ford Foundation grant towards the foreign training of prospective faculty. As a result, the key mechanism, used by metropolitan agencies in the process of compradorization; i.e., foreign training through fellowship grants was also not sufficiently mobilized. These conditions, along with others discussed in detail earlier, prevented "homogenization" of outlook, which is viewed by dependency writers as a precondition for effective metropolitan penetration.

After the phase of initial collaboration, despite changing circumstances, renewed efforts by the metropolitan agencies, effective comprador enlistment has not taken place at the IIMC. The "independent" stance adopted by the faculty, has in fact, much to the dismay of metropolitan agencies been reinforced by the norms of Academic freedom and faculty participation in decision making transferred from the metropolitan institution. Consequently, not only have the IIMC faculty successfully resisted attempts at metropolitan penetration but in fact, due to their strident participation in decision making effectively militated against excessive interference by the MIT technical assistants.

The institutional culture, thus established at the IIMC, has been non-comprador, with an increased fragmentation between faculty members

belonging to the basic discipline group who are of a largely radical orientation, and functional management faculty who bear a basic allegiance to the tools and techniques of management imported from the United States.

It is clear from the above discussion, ^{that} the simplistic explanation offered by the dependency theorists regarding the instrumental role of the comprador elite is not adequate. Such a perspective allows no recognition of the "contradictions", the ambivalence and the conflicting attitudes which can be observed within instrumental elite groups, who on one hand clamoured for economic self-reliance through building up managerial capacity in the nation, and on the other hand welcomed eagerly the foreign aid and technical assistance made available by the metropolitan agencies. This point is well addressed by Spitzberg,

But in a very real sense, one cannot underestimate the fact that developing countries have chosen this model and its adaptation is their attempt to deal with the conflict between the reality of this situation and the reality of each unique society's needs.¹

The Negative Consequences of Metropolitan Penetration

A final assumption made at the outset of this study relates to the negative consequences or "structural distortions" introduced within the peripheral institution as a consequence of metropolitan penetration. These distortions lead, it is argued to the skewing of institutional activities in a manner dysfunctional to the independent development of the institution. Structural limitations within a peripheral institution can take a variety of forms. In the context of this study, the outcomes of Encapsulation, Marginalization, Fragmentation and Low Developmental Orientation have been hypothesized as possible consequences of metropolitan penetration.

It has been demonstrated in Part IV of the thesis, that the outcomes predicted by the dependency writers, have in fact, marked the institutional development of the IIMC. A major assertion of dependency writers, which focuses on the internal consequences of external linkages between 'core' and periphery is thus sustained in the analysis.

Encapsulation, or Elitism in terms of location arrangements admission procedures, placement opportunities to IIMC graduates, infrastructural facilities and faculty resources is a distinguishing characteristic of the IIMC, and no doubts, responsible for its position at the apex of the management education system of the country. The IIMC's privileged position, in this respect can be related in important ways to the initial collaboration with the MIT and the financial support of the Ford Foundation. Had the abundant resources not been available from the outset, it is doubtful whether the IIMC could have afforded campus of 135 acres, continued to be highly selective in its admission procedures, able to offer premium job opportunities to its graduates without even the stamp of a formal degree, as well as enjoy the tremendous library resources (including computer facilities) and the high faculty-student ratio it now maintains.

Not only can the impact of metropolitan penetration be viewed in the privileged status of the IIMC, but also in certain biases and orientations which it has inherited from its metropolitan sponsors. Thus, the IIMC's location fifteen miles away from the city centre on a sprawling campus effectively insulates it from the problems of its immediate environment and reinforces its "enclave" character. The emphasis placed on Quantitative Areas by the MIT staff plays an important determining role in the selection of candidates for the PGDM programme, and its value-orientation favouring capitalistic enterprises is reflected in the choice of jobs made by its graduates. Similarly, in the case of other indicators, contributing to

increased encapsulation, the "hand" of metropolitan agencies can be seen.

The "encapsulation" of the IIMC innovation can also be causally related to the marginalization of university based management education in the region. An institution singled out in the analysis, for evidence of marginal status is the IISWBM, which is an affiliated body of Calcutta University, but has, only as recently as 1976, begun to offer MBA degrees.

Over a variety of criteria, it was made explicit that the relatively impoverished state of the IISWBM can be causally related to the parallel establishment of IIMC. Moreover, it was clear that this possibility was recognised from the outset by the metropolitan agencies, who having observed the problematic condition of Indian Universities, insisted on isolating their protegee institutions from the former's influence by setting them up as Autonomous institutions.

Institutional Autonomy, the cost of which was denial of degree-granting status, has also had another unanticipated consequence, which has further aggravated the marginalization of the Universities. The IIMC's doctoral programme, called the Fellowship Programme has not been able to fulfil its starting objective of supplying a well-trained faculty cadre to the Universities, since university regulations stipulate the need for a doctoral degree for potential faculty members. The universities thus continue to remain plagued by shortage of well qualified faculty, a shortage which the IIM's were set up to meet.

Cohesive institutional development at the IIMC has been further inhibited due to the existence of another outcome predicted by the dependency writers, i.e., Fragmentation. In the dependency literature, it is argued

that fragmentation can be induced within the peripheral society through a variety of conditions imposed by metropolitan penetration. Galtung has argued that one such condition is the excessive specialization introduced by Western technology, which because of its emphasis on either social, economic or technological factors leads to the destruction of a holistic perspective.

It has been argued in Part IV of the study, that a fragmented faculty outlook can indeed be found at the IIMC and is most clearly manifest in the rift between faculty members belonging to the Basic disciplines, those specialising in the Quantitative areas and those owing allegiance to the functional management areas. This fragmentation when combined with aggressive faculty participation in institutional decision making, prevents effective institutional development, since constructive energy is diverted into reaching compromise solutions. The role of the Director, which is optimally to provide charismatic leadership is thus reduced to a mediator between rival faculty groups.

This situation, though related to the initial collaboration, must also be viewed as an intrinsic outcome of the institutional culture developed at the IIMC. The initial faculty development policies, it must be remembered, emphasized a heterogeneity of outlook amongst the faculty base with significant differences in training background, and a variety of ideological orientations. Added to this, was the adhoc recruitment of faculty following the sudden shortfall in 1965. Chandy's other preoccupations, in the latter part of his assignment further led to the transfer of power to the faculty. Weak leadership in later years, combined with growing factionalism further aggravated the fragmentation phenomenon. Combined, this variety of specific conditions have militated against cohesive institutional development.

A final outcome of external penetration hypothesized in the study is the subsidiarization of the research activities to the norms and priorities outlined by the metropolitan agencies. Such research, it is argued, would have a low developmental orientation as it would be geared to the dictates of the neocolonial institutions, and thus have little relevance to the specifically of the peripheral situation. Economics, among the social sciences, has been further identified as a field particularly vulnerable to metropolitan influence.

The case of the IIMC, ~~once~~ again, provides interesting evidence in this respect. The influence of the metropolitan agencies on the research activities can be observed from the outset. However, it is important to note that a constant emphasis at least at the level of stated objectives was that research activity must be closely related to the Indian environment, thus fulfilling the wide gaps in the literature. In the first decade, research activities undertaken were mostly experimental in character, geared largely to the testing of Western hypotheses in the Indian situation. In the seventies, the Ford Foundation, ^{attempted} to set the research agenda of the IIMC, by encouraging studies on Entrepreneurship, Management of Education systems, Management of Urban systems etc. Once again, however, the emphasis was on problems of Indian Development, even though the themes for research were largely determined by the metropolitan agencies. In recent years, research activities at the IIMC have adopted a much stronger developmental orientation, with the emphasis shifting towards applied and interdisciplinary research projects. This is however, more true of the functional management area specialists who have become involved in the wider problems of sectoral development like Education, Agriculture, Health systems etc.

The basic discipline specialists, particular the Economists continue to ^{pursue} ~~prove~~ their research interest irrespective of institutional research goals. However, their efforts in this sphere, are of a radical marxist orientation and widely appreciated for their exceptional calibre. Unlike the assertions of dependency writers, Economics as a field at IIMC, certainly does not suffer from a dependent perspective.

On the other hand, the research activity of the quantitative areas at the IIMC remains strongly influenced by the metropolitan model, in terms of its research orientation.

Another important research programme at the IIMC is the fellowship programme. This programme, has achieved only limited success in its research objectives. Its contribution in this sphere is also limited by the absence of degree-granting status, which prevents recruitment of talented students for the programme. Other problems too beset this programme, which is widely acknowledged as being less successful than the prestigious Post-graduate programme.

In sum, the developmental orientation expected of the research activities of the IIMC has not yet been achieved. The "encapsulated" character of the IIMC, its elitist orientation and fragmented faculty outlook have further aggravated the problem.

In the preceding discussion, an attempt has been made to test the validity of important assertions found in the dependency literature. It has been argued that while metropolitan penetration could not, due to inadequate implementation, ensure effective dependency, it has certainly left its imprint on the future development of the IIMC. Certain strategic

decisions, related to institutional status and practices continue to infringe upon, and inhibit the institution from attaining the goal of independent development, even though a significant shift away from the initial dependency situation is quite evident.

Policy Implications

The case-study of the IIMC offered in this thesis is important, not only because it helps to provide a body of historical and empirical data against which the assertions made by dependency theorists can be tested, but also because such a case-study helps to illuminate important issues relating to post-independence institutional innovations in Indian higher education, and their relevance to the nation's quest for independent development.

Political Independence, it has been noted earlier, was not accompanied in India by social, cultural and educational independence. While normative aspirations of national control and self-reliance accompanied the processes of decolonization, the institutional response in Indian higher education was to plan and establish new institutions based on Western, particularly North American models especially in view of the enthusiastic assistance being offered by metropolitan agencies, like USAID and philanthropic foundations. The rationalizing ideology for the unquestioning acceptance of such reform and innovation efforts provided by the dominant 'developmentalist' ideology of the time.

Nearly four decades after Independence, the important question facing Indian higher education is whether these "transferred" institutions have now acquired an indigenous, independent character. In other words, to what

extent has there been a viable renegotiation of valuable knowledge in Indian higher education with a concomitant emphasis on the goal of 'Independent development'.

It is at this juncture that the debate regarding social responsibility vs pursuit of fundamental knowledge in universities and other institutions of higher education in the 'third world', assumes significance. While the relativity of the idea and functions the university to the ethos of an epoch, has been pointed out many years ago by Abraham Flexner, an increasingly popular conception in recent years has been that of the "developmental university", an institution which "In all its aspects is singularly animated and concerned with the solution of concrete problems of societal development".²

This line of analysis and indeed prescription, is increasingly familiar in the literature stressing the social relevance goal of Higher education institutions in the 'third world'. The enormous expenditure on such institutions, it is claimed can only be justified if these institutions are making a direct contribution to development goals through their teaching, training and research activities. Apart from these developmental goals, these institutions must also be 'Centres of excellence', the quality of output and programmes being equivalent to sister institutions around the world, and particularly to those institutions in the West which have provided them in the initial period with technical assistance and finance. These institutions are also admonished to be endogenous, taking care to provide the right perspective to the endogenous culture and value systems upon the basis of which the nation will establish its individual identity in the world. Not only do these "apex" institutions have an

exceedingly difficult task to perform for themselves, but they can no longer afford to be elitist or "encapsulated" in terms of either their selection procedures, or their relationships with the other similar but less well endowed institutions; i.e., they must through ties of collaboration, faculty development programmes and other institutional activities aim at being well integrated with the rest of the Academic system. Last but not least, these institutions are encouraged to undertake applied research projects in the form of consultancy to bridge the gap between theory and practice. The research objective is crucial for it is only through useful research that indigenous problems can be identified and attempts at discovering means to achieve the other objectives be made.

What has been outlined above, represents a highly normative, almost utopian construct of an "independent" institution of higher education. The structural features of this model are Endogeneity, Excellence, Equity and Relevance. It is recognized that, it is very difficult, almost impossible for any institution to achieve all these goals in practice.

It is platitudinous then to merely state that universities and other institutions of higher education have key roles to play as sources of planned social change and intellectual innovation. A more important issue is how they can in their present form, cope with all the responsibilities that have been thrust upon them. In other words, in what concrete ways can the goals outlined above be utilized to set the parameters within which higher education institutions can aspire towards the goal of independent development ?

The Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, has, it is important

to note, made significant efforts towards achieving each of the goals set out above, in recent years. The quest for endogeneity in development finds articulation in the institution's endeavours to evolve a unique Indian system of management drawing upon the wisdom of ancient scriptures and texts. It can be observed in the increasing orientation towards research on problems of Indian economic development. Excellence in teaching programmes has been a hallmark of the institution since the time of establishment, and efforts have been made to maintain standards over the years, despite unfavourable initial specific conditions. Several measures have also been taken in recent years to ensure equity in selection procedures and other facilities. Finally, the goal of generating research relevant to Indian conditions, has been accepted from the outset, and recent years have witnessed renewed efforts in that direction too.

Nonetheless, much remains to be achieved. As a consequence of certain structural limitations introduced from the outset by the metropolitan agencies, as well as certain initial specific conditions, the institution has remained plagued with certain infrastructural as well as institutional problems. These difficulties have militated against an integrated move towards optimal development, and prevented the IIMC from meeting the many responsibilities placed upon it due to its apex position in Indian Management Education.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES FOR PART I

1. Article 38 of the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Indian Constitution states,

The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of national life.

Indian Constitution (1949) The Constitution of India, New Delhi, Government of India Press, p. 19

2. The need for Self-reliance was recognised from the outset. Thus it was stated,

The objective to be aimed at in the near future is for the country to attain a self-sustaining and self generating economy both in industry and in agriculture. It is only the achievement of such an economy that the country can advance rapidly towards a welfare state and the Socialist pattern.

INC Resolutions on Economic Policy, Programme and Allied Matters (1924-1969) AICC Bangalore Congress, January, 1960, p.125

Also, see for example

Real and rapid progress can only be achieved after the attainment of a self-generating and self-sustaining economy. The approach, priorities and structure of the draft plan are designed to ensure a substantial and all round advancement towards the attainment of such an economy.

Raipur AICC Meeting, October 1960, p.130, *ibid*.

3. Thus J.L. Nehru, in a speech to Constituent Assembly pointed, out

There is no reason why we should give up our way of doing things, our way of considering things, simply because of one particular ideology which emanates from Europe and America. I think that we should be receptive, but I have also no doubt at all we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, "to be swept off our feet by any wind from anywhere".

India's Foreign Policy (Speech in Constituent Assembly) March 8, 1949 p.39

4. However, the need for Independence rather the Autarky was emphasized from the outset. As pointed out by Nehru,

We do not wish to be isolated. We wish to have the closest contacts, because we do from the beginning believe in the world coming closer together and ultimately realizing the ideal of what is now being called One World. That is our general outlook in regard to our policy.

Speech delivered at the Indian Council of World Affairs, March 22, 1949, in Indian Foreign Policy, p. 39.

5. In the new Industrial Policy statement presented to the Lok Sabha in May, 1956, by Prime Minister Nehru, the importance of competent industrial and technical management was emphasized :

This programme of industrial development will make large demands on the country's resources of technical and managerial personnel. To meet these rapidly growing needs for the expansion of the public sector and for the development of village and small scale Industries, proper managerial and technical cadres in the public services are being established. Steps are also being taken to meet shortages at supervisory levels, to organize apprenticeship schemes of training on a large scale both in the public and private enterprises, and to extend training facilities in business management in Universities and other institutions.

As quoted in Myers, C.A. (1958), The Managerial Response in Labour problems in the Industrialization of India, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p. 110

6. Lipkin, J.H. (1971) Review of Di bona's Change and Conflict in the Indian University, Comparative Education Review, IV (1), p. 95.

7. For example, the University Education Commission pointed out,

The academic problem has assumed new shapes. We now have a wider conception of the duties and responsibilities of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education literary and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain in, as short a time as possible freedom from want, disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge.

Report of the University Education Commission (December 1948-August 1949)
Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1952, p.2

8. Securing highly trained managerial personnel is a matter of the greatest urgency both for government and private business.

Nanda, G.L. (1961) Towards a Self-Reliant Economy, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p. 165

9. As the University Education Commission pointed out,

If India is to become an effective industrial country.... business must be looked at as a profession and prepared for as thoroughly as any other.

Report of the University Education Commission op cit p. 277

This need was reaffirmed by both the first and second Five Year Plans, p. 443 and p. 514 respectively. Planning Commission, Government of India, 1952 and 1956.

10. Based on the various recommendations of the Council of Technical Education there resulted (i) creation in 1953 of a permanent Board of Management studies advisory to the GOI Ministry of Education; (ii) establishment, over the period 1953 to 1957, of seven training programme endorsed by that Board, sponsored by either universities or technological institutes, and supported by GOI funds channelled through the University Grants Commission; and (iii) founding in 1957 of an Administrative Staff College under joint business and government auspices.

Hill et-al (1973) Institution Building in India, A study of International Collaboration in Management Education, Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration Division of Research Boston, p.11

11. The expectations placed on the new institution are clear from the following excerpt :

It is my hope that the Institutes of Management in India will accept the challenge of the day and shall ^{grow} ~~form~~ forth into society a steady stream of managers who are not only intellectually and technically equipped to deal with the problems of building a new India, but are also animated towards the vision of the new India we are hoping to regenerate.

Singh, K (1970) India needs a Managerial Revolution, in Indian Administrative and Management Review, (1), p.3

12. Given the voluminous literature on policies for Indian economic development, it is surprising to note the paucity of literature in this area. It was recognised that the achievement of developmental objectives would depend upon the framework that India built with the rest of the world. This framework would generally encompass various aspects of relations-political including security, cultural, and economic. It is interesting to see that political aspects (of the policy of non-alignment) have been far better articulated than the cultural and economic aspect. This is despite, the following statement made by Nehru, emphasizing the greater importance of a well-articulated economic policy.

Ultimately the foreign policy is the outcome of economic policy, and untill India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping

J.L. Nehru (1947) "Speech before constituent Assembly" in Independence and After, p. 224

13. A partial answer lies in the unquestioning faith placed by Indian planners on the efficiency of formal education as a means for achieving economic development. The argument has been well stated by Dale,

Education contains the means whereby developing countries can become self sufficient intellectually and hence eventually entirely self-sufficient. Once they are educated to Western levels 'Developing' countries will be able to decide for themselves how they wish to develop and to achieve these goals. On this view, education [almost] alone is not subject to the general condemnation of Western penetration and exploitation of the developing world but is the major means by which that penetration and exploitation can be resisted and even turned to good effect at both the social and personal levels.

Dale, R. (1982), 'Learning to Be.... What? Shaping Education in Developing Societies.', in Hamza Alavi, Rod Aya and Teodor Shanin(ed), An Introduction to the Sociology of 'Developing Societies', Macmillan Press, London, p.2

14. Rostow, W.W. (1960) The Stages of Economic Growth, Cambridge University Press, Massachussetts
15. Hoselitz, B.F. (1960), Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, New York, Free Press.
16. Eisenstadt, S.N. (1973), Tradition, Change and Modernity, John Wiley, London.

17. The influence of Parsonian structural functionalism on theories of modernization is clear. Not only is there an attempt to identify evolutionary universals which demarcate the 'traditional' from the 'modern' but there is also an emphasis on equilibrium analysis in which all forms of social change are conceptualized as variants on a differentiation-reintegration process.
18. Roxborough, I. (1979) Theories of Underdevelopment The Macmillan Press Ltd., London, p. 15
19. *ibid*, p. 19
20. In a similar vein, the Second Five Year Plan argued,

It is no exaggeration to say that the most important single factor in promoting economic development is the community's readiness to develop and apply modern technology to processes of production. Underdevelopment is essentially a consequence of insufficient, technological progress and thus insufficiency or lopsided development can, in turn be traced to various political, social or psychological factors, given the desired change in their latter, the rate of development can be related almost directly to advances in techniques.

Planning Commission, (1956) Second Five Year Plan, Government of India, p. 6
21. Taylor, G.L. (1979), "A Critique of the Sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment", From Modernization-to Modes-of Production, Macmillan Press Ltd., Hong Kong, p.42
22. Rostow, W.W. (1960), *op.cit.*
23. McClelland, D (1961), The Achieving Society, Von Nostrand, Princeton
24. Hagen, E.E. (1962) On the Theory of Social Change, Homewood, Illinois : Dorsey.
25. Ball, S. (1981), "The Sociology of Education in Developing Countries", in British Journal of Sociology of Education, 2(3), p.309

26. In India, the First Five Year Plan also claimed,

Education is of basic importance in the planned development of a nation. The educational machinery will have to be geared for the specific tasks the nation sets itself though the plan so as to make available in the various fields personnel of suitable quality at the required rate.

Planning Commission (1952), The First Five Year Plan, Government of India, New Delhi.

27. Leading exponents of this view were,

Schultz.T.W. (1964), The Economic Value of Education, New York, Columbia University Press.

Becker G. (1964), Human Capital : A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education, New York : National Bureau of Economic Research.

28. Influenced by the above theorists, in India the First Five Year Plan declared,

It is obvious that no plan can succeed unless it invests in the improvement of the human material. Even from the point of view of increasing production, social services like education, technical training, and health bring in significant results.

Planning Commission (1962) op. cit.

29. Inkeles, A. (1974), "The school as a context for modernisation", in Inkeles, A. and Smith D.H. Becoming Modern : Individual change in Six Developing countries, London, Macmillan Heinemann. p. 133-143

30. Thus, the Second Five Year Plan suggested,

Countries which start late on their industrial career have some advantage in that, they have in the main to take over and apply techniques that have been worked successfully in MDC's.

Planning Commission, (1956) Second Five Year Plan, Government of India, New Delhi, p.6

31. Only sometimes was the long term objective of the donor explicitly acknowledged. In the case of American post war assistance to the Third world, the motives stated addressed the need for preservation of democracy in the face of the growing Communist threat. Education was viewed in this perspective as the "fourth dimension of foreign policy".

Coombs, P.H. (1964), The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy, Education and Cultural affairs, Harper and Row, AID Education, New York.

32. Wickham, A. (1981), in Dale, R. et. al (eds) "Education and National Development" The Open University E3 53 Block 2 (units 5-7) OUP Milton Keynes, p. 62

33. The point has been well made by Arora,

In the decades following independence there appears to have been too much reliance on prescription for political development so generously provided by foreign experts and their intellectual satellites within our country. A conventional mode of operation in drawing up these prescriptions is to note the sequence of development in the already developing nations; note areas where the developing polity seems to be deficient as compared with the institutional arrangements exemplified in the developed nations and then to proceed to talk of pre-requisites for development. This exercise in automatic institutional equivalents is not only bad social science but also politically dangerous to both the advisor and his native clientele..... this much is certain there are unanticipated consequences of even the best laid public policies and especially of policy guidance suggestive of institutional transference without much forethought or analysis. To compare developed countries in their present stage of development with UDC's of today can only inferentially tell us how the latter can become like the former, for there are significant difference in differing historical and initial contexts.

Arora, S.K. (1970)"On Acquisition of Political legitimacy", in Economic and Political Weekly, 5 (3), (4 & 5), p.129-136.

34. J.L. Nehru set the tone for Indian economic policy by committing the ruling Congress party to a 'socialistic pattern of society'. Nehru's concept of socialism involved a strong emphasis on economic self-reliance to be achieved by centralized economic policy and a foreign policy of non-alignment. The Government was clearly on record in favour of a path of economic development in which foreign private capital and foreign personnel would play at most a minor and subordinate

role. Despite their rhetorical commitment to Socialism, the Indian political elite were quick to re-define their conception of socialism to suit particular situations, which they perceived as advantageous. The following excerpt from the speech made in the U.S.A. by a leading Indian bureaucrat is indicative of the broad meaning assigned to the term.

The socialism contemplated in India does not, by any stretch of the imagination mean communism, it does not mean state capitalism. It is a system under which private competitive enterprise has aⁿd will continue to have a vital role to play, it is a system which respects private property and provides for the payment of compensation, if such property is acquired by the state. I submit there is nothing in the system which shall be repugnant to the social conscience of the U.S.A.

Speech by H.V.R. Iyengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank at an international conference of industrialists, California quoted by Tridip Kumar Chaudhuri, MP Lok Sabha, 20 April, 1959 and reprinted in The Call, May 1959, p.14.

35. In the Indian case, strategies for educational reform accepted as conventional wisdom the central prescriptions of this paradigm, as is attested by the major policy document of the period "Education and National Development". Report of the Education Commissions (1964-1966).
36. Foster Carter has labelled this reinterpretation as a "paradigmatic shift".

Foster-Carter, A. (1976), "From Rostow to Gunder Frank : conflicting paradigms in the analysis of underdevelopment", in World Development, 4 (3), p. 167-180.
37. Normative statements by the UNESCO and the UNDP prescribe that "if development is to fulfill people's expectations, it cannot be patterned on an outside model; it must be achieved in accordance with goals and methods freely chosen by each society, care being taken to ensure that transfer of knowledge in the social and human sciences as also in technology, do not impede endogenous development but, on the contrary help to get it off the ground."

38. Mukherjee, R. (1973), History and Tradition in Indian Society : Null and Alternative Hypothesis ? a review article (reviewing Yogendra Singh's Modernization of Indian Tradition, Thomson Press, Delhi) in the Sociological Bulletin, 24 (1), p. 95-108.

As quoted in Kamat, A (1983), "Conceptual Framework for social change in India", in Essays on Social Change in India, Indian Institute of Education, Publisher S.G. Nene, Pune.
39. Roxborough (1979) op. cit, p. 65
40. Sunkel, O. (1973) Transnational Capitalism and National, Disintegration in Latin America", in Social and Economic Studies, 22 (1), p. 132 as quoted in O'Brien, P.J. (1975), "A Critique of Latin American theories of Dependency", in I Oxal, T. Barnett, David Booth (eds) Beyond the Sociology of Development, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 14.
41. O'Brien, P.J. (1975) op. cit, p. 11
42. ibid
43. Duvall, R.D. (1978) "Dependence and Dependencia theory : notes towards precision of concept and argument", in International Organization, special issue, p.55
44. Berger, P.L. (1974) The Pyramids of Sacrifice - Allen & Unwin, London
45. Lall, S (1975), "Is 'Dependence' a useful concept in analysing underdevelopment", in World Development, 3 (11 + 12) p. 801
46. The Central concepts and relational propositions of the dependency perspective have been presented diagrammatically in Appendix 1.
47. Taylor, J. (1979), "A critique of the Sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment", From Modernization into Modes of Production, Macmillan Press Ltd., Hong Kong, p. 40

48. Mahler, V. (1980), Dependency approaches to International Political Economy : A cross national study, Columbia University Press, New York, p. 2-3

49. Duvall R.D. Jackson, S., and Russett, B.M. Snidal, D. (1981) "A formal model of 'Dependencia theory' Structure and Measurement," From National Development to Global Community, p. 318.

50. Gantzel, K.J. (1973), "Dependency Structures as the Dominant Pattern in World Society", in Journal of Peace Research, 10, p.214

51. Cardoso, F.H. and Falleto, E. (1973), p.140, as quoted in Evans, P (1978), Dependent Development: the Alliance of Multinational State or Local Capital in Brazil, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p.27

52. Dos Santos, T. (1973), 'The Crisis of development theory and the problem of dependence in Latin America', in H. Bernstein, ed., Underdevelopment and Development, Penguin, Harmondsworth, as quoted in O'Brien, P.J. (1975) op. cit. p.12

53. Duvall, R.D. (1978) op. cit,

54. Frank, A.G. (1967) Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America; Historical study of Chile and Brazil, Monthly Review Press, New York and London.

55. Duvall, R.D. (1981) op. cit, p. 326

56. "Uneven development" in the economic dependency literature, refers to the extent to which different sectors of the economy are at different levels of economic activity and capital accumulation. The underlying theoretical notion is that the transformation of the peripheral economy towards a capitalist mode of production occurs at very different rates for different sectors of the economy. Because this pattern of differential growth tends to be unbalancing-capital accumulation is greatest where productive capacity is already largest the result over some range is ever increasing levels of uneven development.

Duvall, R.D. (1981) op. cit, p. 326

57. Sunkel, O. (1973) op. cit, p. 145-146
58. ibid
59. Galtung, J. (1980), "The North/South Debate : Technology : Basic Human needs and the NIEO" Working paper No. 12, World Models Projects, Institute for World Order New York, p. 12
60. Sen, S.R.P. (1974) "Education, Research and Economic Development" in Ashok Mitra (eds) Economic Theory and Planning, Oxford University Press, p. 232
61. Galtung, J. (1971) "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", in Journal of Peace Research, 8 (3), p. 93
62. Portes, A (1973), "Modernity and Development : A Critique", in Studies in Comparative International Development, 8 (3), p. 251
63. Galtung, J. (1976) "Conflict on a Global Scale : Social Imperialism and Sub-Imperialism; Continuities in the Structural Theory of Imperialism", in World Development, 4 (3), p. 158
64. The most commonly used indicator within this literature, to examine cultural dependency is the number of students studying abroad.
Mahler, V. (1980) op. cit, p.33
65. See for example, articles by R.F. Arnove and P.G. Altabach (1982), in Altbach et-al (eds) Comparative Education, Macmillan Publishing company, Inc New York. Writers of this orientation include Berman. E.H. (1984), The Ideology of Philanthropy : The influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundation on American foreign policy State University of New York Press Albany.

Also Fuenzalida, E. (1982) "The contribution of Higher Education to a NIEO", in Sanyal (eds) Higher Education and the New international Economic order. UNESCO, Francis Pinter, Paris.
66. Ball, S. (1981) op. cit p. 319

67. Dale, R. (1982) op. cit p. 411
68. Carnoy, M. (1980) 'International Institutions and Educational Polity', Prospects 10, p. 265-283 as quoted in Hurst p. (1984) 'Educational aid and Dependency' Paper Presented at EDC Comparative Education Workshop on Reproduction and Dependency in Education, 1st and 2nd February, 1984, University of London Institute of Education.
69. Padaki, V. (1981), 'Management Movement in India : Towards a Critical History', in Economic and Political Weekly, XVI (35), p.M93
70. ibid p. 94
71. Galtung's Structural theory of Imperialism, Samir Amin's analysis of World Capitalism, and Arighiri Emmanuel's theory of Unequal Exchange and Immanuel Wallerstein's World system theory can be cited as cases in point.
72. Bernstein, H. (1971), Modernization theory and the Sociological study of development, Journal of development studies 7 (2)
73. Leys, C (1976), 'Underdevelopment and Dependency : Critical notes', in Journal of Contemporary Asia, p. 95
74. ibid
75. O'Brien, P.J. (1975), op. cit, p. 25
76. For a penetrating analysis of the controversy see Duvall R.D. (1978) op. cit.
77. ibid, p. 56
78. ibid, p. 59
79. ibid

80. The conceptual apparatus of the dependency literature has been attacked for being unclear. Failure to specify what is meant by development, dependence, underdevelopment, exploitation has left the literature open to attack from both left and right. Thus Kay points out,

this concept (dependence) fails to grasp the real nature of the process of underdevelopment. The immediate explanation for this is the theoretical framework employed.....eclectic combination of orthodox economic theory and revolutionary phraseology"

Kay, G (1975), Development and Underdevelopment : A Marxist Analysis Macmillan Press Ltd., London p. 103

81. O'Brien, P.J. (1975) op. cit, p.11
82. Cardoso, F.H. (1977), op. cit, p. 13
83. Caporaso, J.A. (1978) "Dependence and Dependency in the global system", in the special issue of International Organisation, p. 5
84. Palma, G (1981) "Dependency and Development : A critical overview" in Seers, D. (eds) Dependency Theory : A critical reassessment, Frances Printer Ltd., London, p 13-20.
85. ibid
86. ibid
87. Seers, D. (1981) op. cit. p. 18
88. ibid, p. 16
89. Noah, H.J. and Eckstein, M.A. (1969), Towards a Science of Comparative Education, Macmillan Press Ltd., London.
90. ibid

91. Holmes, B. (1981), "The Positivist debate in Comparative education: An Anglo-Saxon Perspective", in Comparative Education: Some consideration of Method, George Allen and Unwin, London, p.65-69

92. Barber, B. (1973), "Science, Salience and Comparative Education some reflections in Social Scientific enquiry", R Edwards, (eds) Relevant Methods in Comparative Education, Hamburg, UNESCO

93. Popper, K.R. (1963), Conjectures and Refutations, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 33 as quoted in Holmes, (1981), op. cit, p. 46

94. In the preceding discussion of the dependency paradigm, four propositional statements relating to its central arguments have been identified. The first assumption relates to the emphasis placed by dependency writers on external linkages which are viewed in the form of Metropolitan Penetration into the peripheral society; the second statement relates to the instrumental role of the Comprador Elite in enabling successful Penetration; the third assumption focussed on the Consequences for the peripheral society in the form of "Enclave Modernization", "Marginalization" and "Fragmentation", all of which are seen to contribute to a "Low Developmental orientation". The fourth statement emphasized the cultural dimensions of the dependency syndrome, which, has only received limited attention in the mainstream dependency literature.

95. See Appendix 1.

96. Birou, A. (1977), Towards a Re-definition of Development, OECD, Pergamon Press, Paris, p. 183.

97. Galtung, J. (1971), op. cit, p. 83

98. For example, Goonatilake, S. (1974) has argued that the neocolonial academic plays a key role in preserving the international structure of dependence.

Goonatilake, S. (1974), "Imperialism and Development studies: a case study", in Race and Class XVI (2), p. 135.

99. For a dissenting note see,
Mclean, M. (1982), "Educational Dependency : A Critique",
Mimeoscript, p. 25. This article was later published in Compare
13 (1), p. 25-42
100. Chossudovsky, M. (1977), "Dependence and Transfer of intellectual
Technology, The case of Social Sciences", in Economic and Political
Weekly, September 3, 1977, p. 1582.

NOTES FOR PART II

1. Das Santos T. (1978), "The crisis of Development theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America" H. Bernstein (eds) Underdevelopment and Development Penguin Books Ltd. London
2. Gantzel K.J. (1973) "Dependency Structures as the Dominant Pattern in World Society" in Journal of Peace Research 10 p. 214.
3. Arnove R.F. (1980) in Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism, The Foundations at Home and Abroad, Foundations and the Transfer of Knowledge, G.K. Hall and Company, Boston, Massachusetts p. 307.
4. Birou A. in Schegel J.F. (ed) (1977) Towards a Re-definition of Development Essays and discussion on the nature of development in an international perspective. Pergamon Press for OECD, Oxford p.183.
5. Holmes B. (1983), Policy formulation, Adoption and Implementation in Democratic societies, Paper presented at the Comparative Education/EDC Workshop at the University of London Institute of Education in February 1983 pp. 4-5.
6. *ibid.*
7. Holmes B. (1981) Comparative Education: Some Consideration of Method. Unwin Education Books. London p. 97.
8. *ibid*
9. The importance of analysing this "phase" of institutional transfer has been emphasized by King as follows,

Far too frequently, therefore, project evaluations are carried out before the transfer has had time to become ordinary, with support only from the local exchequer, and no special publicity gained from international visitors. Accordingly one very useful form of transfer evaluation to encourage would be of the longer term impact of an innovation, once the donor had departed, and the move towards ordinariness had begun.

10. The organizing assumption has been stated as follows in Part I,
The Penetration of metropolitan agencies in the educational system of a 'dependent society' through technical assistance and foreign aid is geared towards replicating the institutional structures of their own society. Peripheral institutions created as a result of educational transfer, are assumed to be inextricably linked to the metropolitan parent institution and destined to interact with them in a subordinate and dependent relationship.

11. Developmentalist literature on institution-building has underlined this significance of a "clear understanding of objectives", as a "basis for enterprise control". According to the proponents of this approach, the clearest description of wanted direction for an institution was determined by its "doctrine". Determination of doctrine was viewed as a crucial area for technical assistance. In fact it was argued "when foreign advisers are used in developing an institution, one of their main responsibilities may be the transfer of doctrine..." Only later has it been realized that "this process inevitably raised questions about the exportability of doctrine from one culture to another.

Hill T.M. and Haynes, W.W. Baumgartel^H(1973) Institution Building in India. A Study of International Collaboration in Management Education Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration Boston p.27.

12. Robbins G. (1959) Recommendations for an All India Institute of Management, New Delhi File PA 60-6 Ford Foundation Archives New York.

Meriam-Thurlby (1957) On the Establishment of the proposed Institute of Management studies at the University of Bombay. Ford Foundation Grant PA 57-83. Ford Foundation Archives.

Indian Management Education Study team (1959) Report of a Visit to the United States of America. Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural affairs.

13. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit p.1

14. ibid

15. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit.

16. ibid p.14.

17. Indeed in this case, the compradorization process seems to have been quite effective in erasing from the minds of the Indian experts any hesitation regarding the appropriateness of transplating into the Indian situation, aims and objectives of American management education.
18. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit. p.9.
19. ibid
20. Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, Memorandum of Association and Rules pp.3
21. Haynes (1965) Memorandum on Observations on the Ford Foundation Assisted Project at the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, Ensminger Oral History No. B. 7 Attachment 6, Ford Foundation Archives New York p.2
22. Proposed Plan of Development. Ford Foundation File PA 61-221 Ford Foundation Archives New York p.1
23. ibid p.1
24. ibid p.2
25. ibid
26. ibid.
27. One of the more thoughtful deliberations in this sphere has been made by the first full time director of the IIMA in Marthai R.J. (1980)¹ "The Organisation and the Institution Management Education in India," in Economic and Political Weekly Review of Management May 1980 p.p. M69-M72.

28. Letter dated 22-8-1963 from Director K.T. Chandy to the Dr.D. Ensminger Ford Foundation representative India. Ford Foundation File PA 61-221, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

29. Letter dated December 1966 from Ensminger D. to Julius Stratton of the MIT. Ford Foundation File PA 62-520 Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

30. Memorandum dated February 27, 1967 from T.M. Hill, leader of MIT Project to Krishna Mohan, the New Director of IIMC. IIMC Records.

31. It was explicitly stated in the new Memorandum that,

the purpose and intention of the new grant extension and supplement is to emphasize the aspirations, and the growing ability of IIMC for self-sufficiency in regard to substantial foreign assistance and for broadening its international and Indian connections, both financial and educational. The purpose of this Memorandum on the part of the undersigned is to prescribe the guidelines both for bringing IIMC toward a full independence in its operations and for the implementation of the current Ford Foundation Grant.

Memorandum of Understanding for the Implementation of the Grant of the Ford Foundation to the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, dated March 6, 1968. File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

32. Indian Institute of Management Calcutta Tenth Anniversary Report (1961-71) p.1

33. Personal Interview with Mr.Bhaya in April 1983 at Calcutta.

34. Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta (1981) Catalogue Post graduate programme p.9'

35. Nanda G.L. (1981) Report and Recommendations of the Review Committee for Indian Institute of Management (Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Bangalore) and Promotion and Development of Management . Education p. 24

36. ibid p. 94.

37. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit
38. Personal Interview with Mr. Bhaya, op.cit.
39. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit p. 20
40. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit p.43
41. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit p.5
42. Coombs P.H. (1953), Report on trip to India Report No. 154 Ford Foundation Archives. New York p. 9.
43. Champion Ward F. (1982) 'Cross Pollination in Higher Education Reflections on the Indo-American case' in Raghaviah (ed) Third World Education and Post War American Influences. Osmania University. Hyderabad p. 264.
44. Ensminger D. (1972), The Ford Foundation and Management Education in India Ensminger Oral History No. B. 7 Ford Foundation Archives New York p. 8.
45. Personal letter to N. Sancheti dated April 12, 1984 from Ensminger D. at the University of Missouri. Appendix 2.
46. The case of institutional autonomy reveals also a difference of opinion on this matter within Ford Foundation ranks in particular the field personnel and the head office staff. Thus it is pointed out,

it is difficult to understand and fully appreciate Robbins recommendations in :

Establishing a new institution - completely detached from existing Indian University and management training programmes - i.e., Hyderabad - Bombay - Delhi - Calcutta etc. where new buildings - faculty - library etc must be established

An alternative would be to build up and reorient existing management training programmes to achieve both quality and quantity of training. Surely, the limited resources of capital both Indian and Foreign would go further. The same can be said for talent.

Handwritten Memorandum to Wayne Fredricks dated February 1960.
Correspondence located in File PA 60-6, Ford Foundation Archives,
New York.

47. Ensminger D (1972) op.cit p. 8.

48. This has been acknowledged,

Resentment of IIM autonomy which reflected unfavourably on university capacities was expected and did in fact materialize. Apparently, however, this resentment was pretty much limited to those institutions which had pre-existent management studies programmes and was manifested primarily by that sub-set-Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, most directly competitive with the IIM's.

Hill T.M. and Haynes W.W. Baumgartel (1973) Institution Building in India, A Study of International Collaboration in Management Education. Harvard University, Graduate School of Business administration, Boston, pp. 60-61.

49. This is acknowledged by D. Ensminger in his Oral History of Ford Foundation support to Indian education:

I am quite aware that I have been continuously criticized by Bombay and Delhi Universities for bypassing them. In this business of assisting one has to take decisions not always palatable to those one is assisting.

Ensminger D. (1972), The Ford Foundation's Interest and Involvement in Indian Education Ensminger Oral History No. B. 23, Ford Foundation Archives New York p. 17.

50. Letter dated February 17, 1960 from Ensminger D. to Dean Robbins File PA 80-6, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

51. This policy too was less well understood by the New York office, As pointed out by T.H. Carroll from the latter's office,

I think realistically efforts should be made eventually to award degrees to Institute persons who are to become professors and researchers in the field of management unless one is to make the unrealistic assumption that all persons who enter upon such programmes will have a degree in one of the basic disciplines.

Letter dated February 4, 1960, from T.H. Carroll to D. Ensminger File PA 60-6, Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

52. Report submitted by Harry L. Hansen to Ensminger D. dated February 7, 1962. Correspondence located in File PA 62-479, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
53. Minutes of a Planning meeting held on March 16, 1961 at Calcutta, IIMC Records.
54. Samuel Paul cites the "absence of inflexible governmental control rather than the specific structural form" as an important condition for the IIMA's present ranking as a "high performer" in management education. An autonomous structure enabled the institution to "carry out the evolutionary and flexible programmes that were critical to the changing needs of their environment".

Paul S. (1983) Training for Public Administration and Management in Developing Countries : A Review World Bank Staff Working Papers No. 584, Management and Development Series No. 11 p. 69.
55. Kamla Chowdhry (1975) Management Education in India : Emerging Trends A.N. Agarwala Memorial Lecture Delivered at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Indian Association of Management Development at Chandigarh p.3
56. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.27
57. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit p.5
58. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.101
59. Personal interview with IIMC Director Prof. R.P. Aliyar held at Calcutta in April 1983.
60. Interview held with IIMC faculty members in April 1983 at Calcutta.
61. ibid
62. Hill et.al (1973) op.cit p.61

63. The formal organisation model adopted from Parsons has been diagrammatically outlined in Appendix 3.
64. There is then one level a logical inconsistency between the value-assumptions implicit in the Parsonian model and the theoretical approach of this study which is based on insights and hypotheses derived from dependency theories. In connexion with this particular difficulty, reference can be made to the wider debate, about whether it is possible to select out from a major paradigm some of the less general theories and models for use in another major paradigm. It would not be inconsistent with Holmes' general methodological position to argue that given that the assumptions, not acceptable or compatible with the general theoretical positions are clearly stated, then it is possible to adapt a particular model for operational reasons alone.
65. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit.
66. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit
67. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit.
68. ibid p.3
69. ibid
70. ibid
71. ibid p.6
72. Berman E.H. (1983) The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy. SUNY Pres. Albany p.71.
73. ibid p.5

74. ibid p.21
75. ibid p.24.
76. ibid
77. ibid
78. ibid p.25.
79. ibid.
80. The tentative organisation chart outlined in the proposed plan of development has been reproduced in Appendix 4, p.24.
81. First meeting of Planning Committee for the "Establishment of a Central Institute of Management Studies" held at Calcutta on 18th February, 1961. IIMC Records.
82. ibid
83. Proposed Plan of Development for IIMC File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York p.11
84. ibid.
85. See Appendix 5.
86. Memorandum of Understanding regarding Collaboration in establishment of IIMC, Calcutta, Appendix A.

87. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit p.12.

89. As pointed out in an internal memorandum of the Ford Foundation,
.....because the Chief Minister is the Chairman of the Board,
the meetings are very formal and no one disagrees with
anything he sees.

Memorandum dated April 8, 1975 to the Files from V.G. Pande and
K. Chowdhry. Ford Foundation file PA 75-492, Ford Foundation
Archives, New York.

88. This point has been further elaborated in Part II, pp. 83 - 105

90. This weakness of the IIMC governing Board was also recognised by
the Foundation. Thus, in a memorandum dated November 18, 1975,
Peter F. Geithner points out to Wilhelm at New Delhi.

IIMC, except for the brief period of Dr. B.C. Roy's reign
has not had the strength on its board, and particularly,
in the Chairmanship, that IIMA has had, that the Chief
Minister has been the ex-officio Chairman has guaranteed
almost no attention by the Chairman to the problems of
the Institute, including recruitment of successive directors.
It is interesting to speculate what a strong, independent
[sic] Chairman might have meant with respect to the three
factors normally cited in explaining IIMC's development
the relationship with MIT, the impact of the Calcutta
environment and problems of administrative leadership.

Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives
New York.

91. Letter dated October 21, 1966 from Dean William F. Pounds to Ensminger,
D. Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation
Archives. New York.

92. Irelan W. (1969) Evaluation of Grants 61-221, and 62-520, IIMC,
Training and Research in Business and Industrial Management,
Ford Foundation File PA 62-520 Ford Foundation Archives. New York p.14

93. Letter dated November 10, 1966 from Ensminger D. to P.C. Sen.
Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives.
New York.

94. Letter dated December 9, 1966 from D. Ensminger to Dean W.F. Pounds at MIT. Correspondence located in File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
95. *ibid.*
96. This concern at the volatile leadership situation is clearly expressed in an internal memorandum of the foundation,

But the Institute has been going through a period of crisis, the faculty selected and rejected Dr. Krishna Moorthy, then Dr. Krishna Mohan, and then Professor Nitish De. Dr. Sengupta has now been selected as the Director. It looks as if the faculty is now realizing the price the Institute has paid, for what was considered democratic decision making, that is, every decision to be approved by the full faculty.

Memorandum dated June 10, 1974 from K. Chowdhry to H.E. Wilhelm. Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

97. Thus, in a internal memorandum Peter F. Geithner of the Foundation's New York office wrote to Harry E. Wilhelm at New Delhi,

As you once said, IIMC has followed a "Bengali" course of development. If only IIMC had a Vikram Sarabhai or a Kasturbhai, perhaps the leadership problem would not have been such a serious one.

98. When Dr. Sengupta, a candidate deemed suitable by the Foundation was finally selected as Director in 1974, the Foundation's pleasure at the appointment can be clearly noted from a letter dated May 7, 1974 from P.F. Geithner to the incumbent Director;

I hope I have it on good authority that you have agreed to accept the position of Permanent Director of the Institute.

I think I appreciate some of the factors that must have entered into your decision and would merely like to say how pleased I am at the outcome. It may be a thinkless job but I cannot think of a more important one, particularly at this stage in the Institute's development.

Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

99. IIMC (1971) Tenth Anniversary Report (1961-1971), p. 14
100. *ibid* p. 14.
101. Nanda G.L. (1981) *op.cit* p.79.
102. *ibid* p. 79.
103. *ibid*.
104. *ibid* p. 83.
105. *ibid*.
106. Interview held with IIMC faculty members in April 1983, at Calcutta.
107. *ibid*.
108. Interview with Prof. R.P. Aiyar, Director of IIMC held in April 1983, at Calcutta.
109. Interview held with IIMC faculty members in April 1983, at Calcutta.
110. Robbins G. (1959) *op.cit.* p.22
111. Hill T.M. Haynes, W.W. Baumgartel[#](1973) Institution Building in India: A Study of International Collaboration in Management Education Harvard University. Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston, p.58.

112. *ibid* p. 78.
113. Arnove R.F. & Berman E.H. (1984) Neocolonial Policies of North American Philanthropic Foundations. Prepared for presentation at the Vth world Congress of Comparative Education, Paris. July 2-6 p.1
114. Geiger L.G. (1967) "Indian Universities and the American Experience" in A.A. U.P. Bulletin 53 (1) p. 15.
115. This point will be elaborated later in the analysis.
116. Previous Indian efforts included the report of the University Education Commission (1949) which identified the need and suggested an evaluation of the American approach to the problem. The first Five Year plan saw the shortage of manpower as a bottleneck to India's plans for economic development. In 1953, the All India Council of Technical Education recommended, (i) setting up a permanent Board of Management Studies advisory to the GOI Ministry of Education; (ii) establishment of management studies programmes in either universities or technological institutes (iii) founding in 1957 of an Administrative Staff College under joint business and government auspices. The Second Five Year Plan also suggested the setting up of post graduate institutions for the professional training of managers.
117. Ensminger has listed in his Oral History the following grants made by the Ford Foundation previous to the establishment of the IIM's. These grants were crucial to the foundations' strategy of creating an awareness of the need for professionalised management education in India. Ensminger D. (1972) *op.cit*
- 54-110J Consultant on industrial and business development.
 - 57-83 Advisors on business administration education.
 - 57-238 Indian participation in "Advanced Management Programme in Far East", Philippines.
 - 57-311 IIE - U.S. study tour in management accountancy.
 - 58-156 Indian participation in "Advanced Management Programme in Far East, "Philippines.
 - 59-21 Administrative Staff College - Management training.
 - 59-106 Council of International Progress in Management-Study tour of Indian business management team.

- 59-166 Consultant for business management training.
- 59-272 Indian Participation in "Advanced Management Programme in East" Philippines.
- 59-497 MIT - Seminars for higher management in India.
- 60-6 FAP - Consultant on business management training.
- 60-40 FAP - Consultant on management association programmes.
- 60-254 FAP - Programme specialist in business and management Training.
118. Chowdhry K. (1975) "Strategies for Institutionalizing Public Management Education: the Indian Experience", in Laurence D. Stifel, Joseph E. Black, James S. Coleman, (eds) Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing countries. Working Paper Rockefeller Foundation New York
119. The rationale suggested by the Foundation was,
- A nation's progress depends on its capability to organise human activity. Progress in economic development will require effective organization in many activities. Effective managers are the key to building economic and enterprise organisations required in economic development.
- Werts Leo R. (1960) in a Ford Foundation sponsored report on A Manpower Programme for Economic Development .File PA 59-241. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
120. Letter dated 15th May, 1957 from Ensminger D. to F.F. Hill at the New York head office. Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
121. Ensminger D. (1972) op.cit p.6
122. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) On the Establishment of the Proposed Institute of Management studies at the University of Bombay, Grant No. PA 57-83, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
- Robbins G. (1959) Recommendations for an All India Institute of Management, New Delhi, India. Ford Foundation File PA 60-6 Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

123. Indian Management Education Study team (1959) Report of a visit to the United States of America, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural affairs, Government of India.

An important point to note in this connection is that the very process of commissioning this report, through the organization of visits to leading American schools by a selected group of influential Indians is a concrete example of the mechanism used by the Foundation to enlist elite support towards its project.

124. India-Status Report October 1 - 1959. Correspondence located in Grant PA 59-106. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

125. Ford Foundation Grant PA 59-497 on MIT - Seminars for higher management in India. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

126. It is important to locate the normative acceptance of business schools by the Indian elite in the light of the dominant paradigm of development of the time with its unquestioning faith in the lack of managerial skills as being one of the most important missing factors in development, and the importance of having a good supply of manpower so that the country could be economically self-reliant. Moreover, the suggestions of the Ford Foundation fell on willing ears as there could be no better way of ensuring the educational and concomitant socio-economic ascendancy of the ruling classes, than by setting up institutions which were emulative of the most renowned in the world and to which access was highly restricted. A similar rationale had prevailed in the case of the Indian Institutes of Technology which were also set up as "centres of excellence".

127. Laurence D. Stifel, Joseph E. Black and James S. Coleman (eds) (1977) Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries. Working papers Rockefeller Foundation New York p.43.

128. Correspondence located in Ford Foundation File PA 60-6 and 61-221 Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

129. The active role played by the Ford Foundation in choosing the institutional collaborator can be seen in letter dated Dec. 16, 1958 from W. Rudlin of Ford Foundation, New York to T.H. Carroll of Ford Foundation, Delhi. Correspondence located in Ford Foundation File PA 59-166, Ford Foundation Archives New York.

130. This is obvious from the letter dated 31st May 1961 from J. Coleman of Ford Foundation, New York to Vikram Sarabhai. Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
131. See for example, letter dated May 13, 1961 from D. Ensminger of the Ford Foundation to Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal. Ford Foundation File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
132. This can be seen in the correspondence between the Government officials of the Ford Foundation. Ford Foundation File PA 61-221, Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
133. Letter dated May 8, 1961 from T.M. Hill (MIT) to D. Ensminger (Ford Foundation, New Delhi) Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
134. Letter dated May 31, 1961 from Coleman to T.M. Hill. Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
135. Grant letter dated June 19, 1961 in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
136. *ibid.*
137. Request for Grant Action letter dated May 24, 1961, Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
138. Figures taken from Estimated Budget File PA 61-221 Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
139. Memorandum dated September 17, 1975 from Chowdhry to Harry E. Wilhelm. File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York p.2

140. *ibid*
141. Ireland (1969) *op.cit.*
142. Letter dated May 31, 1961 from J.S. Coleman to T.M. Hill. Correspondence located in File PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
143. Chowdhry K. (1975) *op.cit.*
144. Internal Memorandum from S.E. Bunker to J. Bresnan. File 62-520 Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
145. Ireland (1969) *op.cit.* p.10
146. Letter dated Dec.28, 1967 from Samuel E. Bunker of India Field office to J. Bresnan at the Ford Foundation's New York Office, Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
147. *ibid.*
148. Memorandum dated February 27, 1967 from T.M. Hill to Krishna Mohan. IIMC Records.
149. Memorandum from K. Chowdhry to E.Staiples dated July 27, 1977 Correspondence located in File PA 75-492, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
150. Letter dated December 2, 1974 from J.K. Sengupta (Director of IIMC) to Dr. K. Chowdhry. Correspondence located in File PA 75-492. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
151. Inter-office Memorandum dated June 24, 1975 from H.E. Wilhelm to P.F. Geithner. Correspondence located in File PA 75-492. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.

152. Letter dated May 1, 1975 from JBresnan of New York office to Ford Foundation representative in India. Correspondence located in File PA 75-492. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
153. Scherz-Garcia L(1968), "Some dysfunctional aspects of International Assistance and the Role of the University in Social change", in International Social Science Journal XIX (3) p. 395-396
154. Letter notifying terms of grant dated June 19, 1961. Correspondence located in File PA 61-221, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
155. The latter issue was the course of considerable dispute between Ford Foundation and MIT viewed it as interference of the Foundation in matters over which MIT held responsibility.
156. The grantees were the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs in the initial grant and the IIMC in the supplementary grants. This is explicit in letter dated November 6, 1962 from T.M. Hill countersigned by Director Chandy to James T. Ivy at the Ford Foundation. New Delhi. PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
157. Grant notification letter dated October 9, 1962. Correspondence located in File PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
158. Memorandum dated April 23, 1979 from K. Chowdhry to J. Newman at New York.
159. *ibid.*
160. Irelan (1969) *op.cit* p.20.
161. *ibid.*

162. Letter dated November 12, 1975 from Wilhelm to Geithner. Correspondence located in File PA 70-40, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
163. Sutton F.X. (1968) American Foundations and US Public Diplomacy New York, Ford Foundation, p. 7, as quoted in Bell (1971) "The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor" International Organisation, 25 (3) p. 467.
164. Personal Interview with Senior Faculty Member held in April 1983, at Calcutta.
165. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit p.11
166. ibid
167. ibid.
168. ibid p.3
169. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit. p.15.
170. ibid.
171. ibid.
172. ibid.
173. ibid.
174. Minutes of the Planning Committee Meeting op.cit.

175. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit p.
176. Sharma B.R. (1969) "Professionals in the Making: Their Social Origins".
Economic & Political Weekly VI (23) pp. 1138.
177. *ibid.*
178. IIMC (1981) Catalogue for Post graduate Diploma in Management p.17
179. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.30.
180. *ibid.*
181. IIMC Catalogue op.cit p.17
182. *ibid.*
183. *ibid*
184. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit p.3
185. *ibid.*
186. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit. p.43.
187. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit. p.10
188. *ibid*
189. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit. p.4

190. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit. pp.13-16.
191. ibid p.14
192. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit. p.43
193. ibid.
194. ibid pp 53-55
195. Robbins G. (1959) pp. 13-14.
196. ibid.
197. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit p.4
198. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit. p.6
199. ibid.
200. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit. p. 46.
201. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit. p.14.
202. ibid
203. IIMC Annual General Report (1962-63) p.7
204. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) pp. 17-18.

205. *ibid.*
206. Robbins G. (1959) *op.cit* p.17.
207. Proposed Plan of Development *op.cit* p.3
208. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) *op.cit.* p.3
209. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) *op.cit* pp. 15-16.
210. Robbins G. (1959) *op.cit* p.10.
211. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) *op.cit* p.3
212. *ibid*
213. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) *op.cit* pp.23-24.
214. Robbins G. (1959) *op.cit* p.17.
215. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) *op.cit* p.9
216. "The research work of the Institute would clearly involve considerable attention to foreign books and periodicals devoted to management studies. One of the purposes [sic] would be to obtain suggestions of interesting topics on management to be included in the scope of research in India. Another use would be to obtain information on research methods and ¹⁰²infrastructural materials used elsewhere. From all this it would be possible to select suitable times, countries and institutions for members of the staff to visit and study."
- Meriam Thurlby (1957) *op.cit.* p.10.

217. Indian Management Education Study Team (1959) op.cit p.45
218. Robbins G. (1959) op.cit. p.11.
219. ibid p.19.
220. It is interesting to note however, in Robbins orientation towards research an almost exclusive emphasis on the private sector, the "business firm" as the pivot around which "indigenous research activity" should revolve. There is then in the report of Robbins and the other documents a bias towards private enterprise as the centre of economic activity in the nation. This is in contradiction with the stated stand official policy of the Indian Government, but can be linked only tentatively to the imputed motives of retaining external control over the development process of the country as is suggested by the penetration hypothesis.
221. Proposed Plan of Development op.cit p.6
222. ibid p.7
223. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) op.cit p.19.
224. Indian Study Team (1959) op.cit. p.48.
225. Robbins⁹ (1959) op.cit p.11
226. As pointed out by K. Chowdhry who has been associated with the IIMC's both directly and indirectly since the time of establishment.

In collaborating with the Harvard Business school and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology these institutes adopted their curriculum based on management sciences. The content of the curriculum, the emphasis on problem solving through the use of the case method, the general management point of view became also a part of the student's outlook. But they also imbibed, perhaps implicitly, the focus and the underlying the values of these business schools.

K. Chowdhry (1975) Management Education in India: Emerging Trends
A.N. Agarwala Memorial Lecture Delivered at the Seventh Annual
Meeting of the Indian Association of Management Development at
Chandigarh p.4

227. Annual Report (1979-80) Indian Institute of Management Calcutta. p.5

228. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit. p.19

229. "If these values served the USA well, they must be valid for India too striving to improve the pace of development."

Ramaswamy N.S. (1978) 'Management Education and Training', in Yojana p.24

230. The root causes of this problem, therefore, lie in the adoption and transfer of management thought and aims which have been developed in a country with disproportionate consumption and wasteful use of their vast resources. This approach has not relevance to our country or indeed to other developing but poor nations.

Murthy P.V.R. (1975) 'Management Education : A case for Rethinking on Fundamentals' in Indian Management p. 77.

231. In the lecture cited above, Chowdhry also pointed out,

At this juncture, however, the Institutes at Ahmedabad and Calcutta, like many other educational institutions, are going through a genuine questioning of their system and assumptions. Although they have gained a great deal from these collaborations, and associations they have also begun to realise that adopted models are not likely to reflect the circumstances and aspirations of developing countries. Both the Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad and the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta seem to be moving away from their earlier models. Their success and steady growth seems to have given them the confidence to move systematically in directions that seem meaningful to the needs of the country.

Chowdhry K. (1975) op.cit p. 4-5.

232. Annual Report (1979-80) op.cit p.5

233. See for example, Chakraborty S.K. (1980) 'Management Styles in India. The case for a countervailing Ethos' Decision 7 pp. 223-251.
234. See for example,
 Mankidy J. (1982) "Indian Cultural Heritage and Management of Organizations, in Decision, 9 (2+3) p. 113-122.
 Mankidy J. (1982) "Industrial Organizations and Indigenous Culture : Coping up with A Borrowed Concept", in Decision 9(4) p. 209-212
235. Thus, Professor Chakraborty, who remains upto today the most enthusiastic advocate of the "Indian Management" approach acknowledged in a personal interview,
 'There is no doubt about it. If in this institute the MIT collaboration was still existing I would not be able to speak out in this manner. The aura does not [have] over us any more. The collaboration has petered out otherwise we would have been so mesmerized that we would not have been able to lift our heads. Even then I am but an isolated example, but even this example would not be possible if MIT were still dominating.'
236. Interview held with faculty members in April, 1983 at Calcutta.
237. Memorandum dated April 1975 from K. Chowdhry to the Files Correspondence located in File PA 75-492. Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
238. This was acknowledged by Professor R.P. Aiyar Director of IIMC in a personal interview held at Calcutta in April 1983.
239. Ireland W. (1969) op.cit p.14.
240. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.41
241. IIMC Annual Report (1981-82) pp. 6-7.
242. Memorandum from Kamla Chowdhry to the Files dated January 10, 1976,

Ford Foundation File PA 70-191, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

243. IIMC Annual Report (1979-80) op.cit. p.12.

244. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.70

245. Interview with faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.

246. Interview with Prof. R.P. Aiyar Director of IIMC, held in April 1983, at Calcutta.

247. Interview with faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.

248. ibid.

NOTES FOR PART III

1. The assumption to be examined can be quoted as follows:

Metropolitan penetration requires, for its successful operation, the 'Compradorization' of certain elite groups within the peripheral societies, who consequently become even more 'dependent' on their metropolitan counterparts, thereby satisfying the interests of the international capitalist class. In the case of educational transfer, the academic community in the peripheral institution, is often claimed to constitute an important part of this comprador class. Foreign training through provision of fellowships is identified as the most important mechanism for causing cooptation to elite status.

2. Cardoso, F.H. (1977), 'Consumption of Dependency theory', in Latin American Research Review, XII (3), p.16

3. The comprador academic and intellectual who organises his country's ills and prescribes on the basis of a version of social reality, purveyed by the metropolitan centres as contextfree science helps to consolidate the process of getting the colonized to colonize themselves. With the breaking of overt colonial ties in the third world, such ideological and cultural means, (i.e. through superstructural means) becomes increasingly significant.

Goonatilake, S. (1974), 'Imperialism and Development Studies-- A case Study', in Race and Class, XVI (2), Institute of Race Relations London, p. 135

4. See pp.85 - 88

5. Ensminger, D. (1972), Ford Foundation and Management Education in India, Ensminger Oral History No. B. 7, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

6. Chowdhry, K (1977), 'Strategies for Institutionalizing Public Management Education : The Indian Experience' L.D. Stifel, J.E. Black, J.S. Coleman (eds) Education and Training for Public Sector Management in Developing Countries, The Rockefeller Foundation Working Papers, p.103.

7. See pp.66- 82

8. This objective has been also explicitly acknowledged in the Indian context, by an American AID report,

the permeation of the whole Indian academic community by American thought behaviors and general approach to scientific, technological and also politico-economic advancement...The means for achieving this is shoulder to shoulder association and demonstration....the personal imparting of attitudes and information to Indians by American both in India and at American Institutions of higher education.

Sreenivasan, S. (1982), "Foreign-Aided IIT Education", in Ragaviah (eds) Third World Education and Post War American Influence, Osmania University Hyderabad, p. 288.
9. Holmes, B. (1981) Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Method, George Allen and Unwin, London, p. 99
10. Holmes, B. (1984) "Poverty of Dependency theory" in CBW Treffgarne (eds) Contributions to the Workshop on Reproduction and Dependency in Education, Part I, EDC Occasional Papers, No.7 University of London Institute of Education, London, p.2
11. Singer, M.W. (1972), Weak States in a World of Powers, the Free Press New York, p. 172
12. These indices are derived from issues raised by,

Arnone, R. (1980) "Foundations and the transfer of Knowledge", in Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism the Foundations at Home and Abroad G.K. Hall and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, p. 323.
13. See Appendix 6; the questionnaire, apart from requesting biographical data also raised questions about previous training (from high school onwards) exposure to management education, academic as well as executive positions held prior to employment at IIMC, publications in the form of both journal articles and books, conferences attended and consultancy assignments undertaken.
14. Gouldner, A.W. (1976) "The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology : The Origins, Grammar, and Future of Ideology" Seabury Press, New York, p.233, as quoted in Berman, E.H. (1983), The Ideology of Philanthropy; The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy, State University of New York Press, Albany p.88

15. Ensminger, D. (1972) op.cit, p.22
16. Thus, Chandy was described as an "exceptionally promising business leader" in a letter dated October 16, 1961 from T.M. Hill to G.F.Gant at Ford Foundation New York, Correspondence located in file PA 61-221. Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
17. Ensminger, D. (1972) op. cit p.22-23
18. Memorandum dated 22 April, 1966, from D. Ensminger to J. Bresnan at New York File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
19. Memorandum dated 25th September, 1967 from J. Bresnan to files, file No. PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
20. Letter dated 11th December, 1967 from K. Mohan to T.M. Hill at MIT, Correspondence located in File PA 62-520 Ford Foundation Archives New York.
21. Even as recently as 1977, when Ford Foundation funding was substantially reduced, the Ford Foundation's concern with leadership can be seen from the following excerpt of an internal memorandum,

Mr Bhaya is the best thing that could have happened to IIMC. The faculty and staff are pleased with the appointment and things are really moving. Dr. Bhaya comes from the Steel Industry and is well regarded in government and management circles. Mr Bhaya has a three year contract with the Institute so that at least for three years there is likely to be strong leadership and hopefully stability at IIMC.

Internal Memorandum dated July 27, 1977 from K. Chowdhry to Mr Staples. Correspondence located in File 75-492 Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
22. Robbins, G. (1959) Recommendations for an All India Institute of Management New Delhi File PA 60-6, Ford Foundation Archives New York p.22
23. Meriam-Thurlby (1957) On the Establishment of the Proposed Institute of Management Studies at the University of Bombay, File PA 57-83, Ford Foundation Archives, New York, p.19

24. Robbins, G. (1959) op.cit, pp 26-27

25. Scherz-Garcia, L. (1967) "Some Dysfunctional aspects of International Assistance and the Role of the University in Social Change" in International Social Science Journal, XIX (3), p. 397.

26. Memorandum of Understanding regarding Collaboration in establishment of IIMC Calcutta, Appendix A, IIMC Records.

27. This discounting of functional management areas was observed with some dismay by Ford Foundation consultant W.J. Hertz who commented,

Of the three institutions, Calcutta has taken the most extreme position in rejecting a business degree or business experience as a qualification for teaching management. Of its 24 faculty members, 21 have doctorates in such fields as Law, Economics, Social Psychology, Statistics and Social Anthropology. This faculty moreover has been recruited largely from foreign or Indian universities and has had little practical business experience.

Hertz, W.J. (1968) File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York

28. IIMC Proposed Plan of Development (1961) File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York p. 7-9

29. Ensminger, D. (1972), op. cit p.22

30. Ganesh, S.R. (1978) Processes of Institution Building : A Comparative Study of Indian Management Education Institutions Ph.D Thesis submitted at London Graduate School of Business Studies p.151-152

31. The absence of alternative sources of faculty recruitment can be related to the initial policies adopted at the IIMC, where the emphasis was on recruitment of mature faculty from both the U.S.A. and India. Other reasons for this difficulty, as cited by Ireland included the corresponding obligation to return to the Institute for a specified period. "Another reason", according to Ireland,

was a clear cut predilection on the part of MIT to recruit mature faculty in the US rather than identify prospective faculty candidates in India and then train them in the US as Harvard did at IIMA.

Records of grant expenditure throughout the collaboration period also indicate quite clearly a heavy bias in favour of long term and short term foreign advisers rather than provisions for foreign training fellowships.

Irelan, (1969) Evaluation of grants 61-221 and 62-520, IIMC, Training and Research in Business and Industrial Management, File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

32. The Volte-face in MIT's attitude to the faculty development problem is indicated in Hills' statement of the IIM's role in,

ideally creation of an Indo-American management education community by establishing direct channels of communication between the Indian Institutes and the largest number of their American counterparts.

There is a striking absence in this pronouncement, of the earlier stressed need for a heterogenous mix, of faculty members with diverse outlooks and a strong rooting in the Indian situation.

Hill T.M. (1967) "Management Education in India" Unpublished document, IIMC Records.

33. As quoted in Irelan, W. (1969) op.cit p.11

34. Irelan, W. (1969) op.cit p.12

35. Memorandum dated February 27, 1967 from T.M. Hill to Krishna Mohan, IIMC Records.

36. As pointed out in Irelan, W. (1969) op.cit p.33

37. Estimated Budget and Recommendation for grant DAP Action dated July 21, 1975 file PA 75-492, Ford Foundation Archives, New York p.7

38. Memorandum dated March 1, 1975 file PA 620-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

39. ibid

40. Nanda, G.L. (1981) Report and Recommendations of the Review Committee for Indian Institute of Management (Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Bangalore) Promotion and Development of Management Education p.12

- 41 . The questionnaire (Appendix6) apart from requesting biographical data also raised questions about previous training, (from high school onwards) exposure to management education, academic as well as executive positions held prior to employment at IIMC, publications in the form of both journal articles and books, conferences attended and consultancy assignments undertaken.
- 42 . The Economics faculty at the IIMC, an impressive assemblage of well known academics have been quoted elsewhere as not being overly concerned with management education. This is perhaps one reason for their lack of response. Moreover, according to one of the Economists interviewed, necessary data about them could be obtained from other sources, which made it necessary for them to answer the questionnaire.
- 43 . The evidence presented in the following analysis has been taken from data analysed from responses to questionnaire circulated.
- 44 . IIMC Annual Report (1983-1984) Annexure XXI, p.59-62.
- 45 . Ganesh, S.R. (1977) op.cit
- 46 . This has been observed previously as a direct outcome of MIT's strategy of deemphasizing the importance of sending recruited as well potential faculty for further "socialization" to the metropolitan institution.
- 47 . The data in the following analysis has been collected from the Annual Reports (1979-1983) IIMC.
- 48 . IIMC Annual Report (1979-80) p.37-39
- 49 . IIMC Annual Report (1981-82) p.55-59
- 50 . Chossudovsky, M (1977) "Dependence and Transfer of Intellectual Technology ; The case of Social Science" in Economic and Political Weekly. p.1581.

51. IIMC Annual Report (1979-80) op.cit 37-39
52. IIMC Annual Report (1981-82) op.cit, p.55-59
53. IIMC Annual Report (1979-80) op.cit
54. IIMC Annual Report (1981-82) op.cit
55. Irelan, W. (1969) op.cit

56. As pointed by Hill,

Third, we need recognise that severance of the IIMC-MIT umbilical cord, which we agree to be desirable, could leave IIMC quite isolated from any relevant intellectual community if no effort is made to provide any substitute means for international communication.

Letter dated December 12, 1967 from Hill, to Files, Ford Foundation File 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

57. Memorandum dated July 26, 1965 from W. Haynes to D. Ensminger. Correspondence located in Attachment No. 6 Ensminger Oral History, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.

NOTES FOR PART IV

1. Sunkel O. (1973) "Transnational Capitalism and National Disintegration in Latin America" Social and Economic Studies 22(1), p.134
2. Duvali R. Jackson S. and Russett B.M. Snidal D (1981) "A formal Model of 'Dependencia Theory' Structure and Measurement" From National Development to Global Community. George Allen Unwin, London p.326.
3. Mahler V.A. (1980) Dependence and Approaches to International Political Economy: A Cross National Study. Columbia University Press. New York
4. Shukla S. (1982) "Foreign Influences on Indian Education" in Raghaviah (ed) Third World Education and Post War American Influence. Osmania University, Hyderabad p.360.
5. A definitional statement of these outcomes of metropolitan penetration as proposed in the dependency literature has been given in Chapter I (pp 12-15) and will be elaborated in the following sections of this part of the study.
6. Berman E.H. (1983) The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy State University of New York Press Albany, p. 176.
7. The concept of 'Encapsulation' is synonymous with the dependency formulation of cultural enclaves.
8. See for example,
 - a) Scherz-Garcia L (1967) "Some dysfunctional aspects of International Assistance and the Role of the University in Social Change", in International Social Science Journal XIX (3) p. 392
 - b) Altbach P.G. (1981) "The University as Centre and Periphery" in Teacher's College Record p. 603-604
 - c) Fuenzalida Edmundo F. (1982) "The Contribution of Higher Education to a N.I.O." in Sanyal (eds) Higher Education and the New International Economic Order. UNESCO/Francis Printer. Paris.

9. The active role played by MIT Project leader T.M. Hill is obvious in the correspondence located in Ford Foundation File PA 61-221 and was also pointed out by Senior Faculty members of the IIMC in the course of personal interviews held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
10. Ford Foundation Grant PA 62-520 B. for the sum of \$ 300,000, W. Ireland Report, (1969) Evaluation of Grants 61-221, and 62-520, IIMC Training and Research in Business and Industrial Management, Ford Foundation file PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives New York p.1
11. Data presented in the next section of the analysis is collected from interviews held with the IIMC faculty members in April 1983 at Calcutta.
12. *ibid.*
13. An alternative location available at the time of establishment were the extensive grounds owned by the Nizam of Hyderabad in Central Calcutta.
14. Interview with IIMC faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
15. Sreenivasan S. (1982) "Foreign Aided IIT Education" in Y.Ragaaviah (eds) Third World Education and Post War American Influence. Osmania University. Hyderabad. p. 290.
16. All three sets of Institutions are based on a foreign model and have been established as a result of technical assistance projects and foreign aid.
17. Ganesh and Sarupia D. (1983) "Explorations in Helplessness of higher Education Institutions in the Third World" Higher Education 12 p. 192
18. *ibid.*
19. *ibid* pp. 193-196.

20. Sharma B.R. (1972) 'What makes a Manager : Merit, Motivation or Money', in Economic and Political Weekly 7 (22) p. M51-M66.
21. ibid p. M65.
22. While no primary investigation apart from faculty interviews was carried out in this area, it is possible to partially substantiate the argument through an analysis of data relating to student selection as published in the Annual General Reports of the IIMC in recent years.
23. Since data regarding the income levels of the families of successful candidates was not collected, no concrete evidence is available to justify the assertions regarding the socio-economic background of the student community at the IIMC. The assertion made in this respect is based on secondary evidence and the impressions gained and conversations held by the investigator with many of the students and faculty members of the IIMC.
24. IIMC Annual Reports (1981-1982) p. 32.
25. Sharma B.R. (1972) op. cit p. M65.
26. IIMC Annual Reports (1981-1982) p. 34.
27. IIMC Annual Reports (1978-1983)
28. Nanda G.L. (1981) Report and Recommendations of the Review Committee for Indian Institute of Management (Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Bangalore) Promotion and Development of Management Education p. 34 (Table 3.2)
29. ibid p. 30.
30. ibid p. 34.
31. Indian Institute of Management Calcutta Tenth Anniversary Report 1961-71 p.2

32. ibid, p.2.
33. Interview with IIMC faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
34. ibid.
35. Eisemon T. (1974) "Educational Transfer : The implications of foreign educational assistance", in Interchange 5(4) p. 59.
36. Sunkel O. (1977) "The Development of Development thinking", in IDS Bulletin 8 (3) pp 6-11.
37. IIMC Annual Reports 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1982-83.
38. Survey Team (1975) "Basic issues in Management Education in India", in Indian Management Special issue on Improving Management Education p.14.
39. There are strong economic reasons to support this demand. Since the Second Five Year Plan, investment in the Public sector has consistently increased. Thus for instance, in the Sixth Five Year Plan the expected outlay in the public sector is 53% of the total investment outlay of the plan period as compared to 47% in the private sector. This demonstrates a significant increase in public sector investment even from the Fifth plan period in which the outlay was only 45%.

Planning Commission (1980) Sixth Five Year Plan Government of India. New Delhi p. 37.
40. See Appendix. 9
41. Due to restrictive foreign investment policies of the Indian government, the WOPS include in India the multinational corporations, most of which today have substantial Indian equity holdings.

42. Survey Team (1975) "Basic issues in Management Education in India" in Indian Management Special issue on Improving Management Education p.12
43. See Appendix.9
44. In fact, IIMB at Bangalore was initially set up with the special purpose of meeting the demands of the Public sector. The IIMA has also made a conscious attempt at reorienting its graduates towards both the Agricultural and the public sector.
45. In order to avoid the determinism inevitable in dependency analyses, it is important to acknowledge that the IIMC graduate's choice of job is based on a variety of specific conditions. Some of these conditions have been identified by Ganesh and Sarupia in the case of job placements at IIT Bombay graduates and are similarly applicable to IIMC graduates.

Ganesh S.R. and Sarupia D. (1983) op. cit.
46. Paul A.P. (1973) "New Directions for Management Education", in Indian Management p. 30.
47. IIMC Annual Report (1983-84) p. 3. pp. 59-62.
48. "The privileged position of the IIMC in this respect becomes especially clear when compared with statistics at other Indian Universities. This will be demonstrated in the following analysis on Marginalization.
49. Ford Foundation file PA 61-221, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
50. See pp. 89
51. IIMC Annual Report (1983-84) p. 18.
52. "In everyday usage, marginal implies 'not integrated' and its sociological usage corresponds to the same meaning. The 'marginal' are then those who are not integrated with the elites, sharing its consensus of values.

Lloyd P.C. (1980) 'Marginality: Euphemism or Concept', in IDS Bulletin 8 (2) p. 13.

53. A major contention of dependency theories is that :

"Underdevelopment helps to exclude and therefore marginalise in relation to the progress of society as a whole, those men and women affected directly by it. Having been instigated by the onslaught of colonialism and the generalised 'plunder' of the third world by western nations, this exclusion and this marginalisation did not unfortunately cease with the advent of national independence.

Thus, the introduction of science and technology and the beginnings of economic development in most third world countries benefitted only a fraction of the total population. Moreover, such 'progress' and development only involved certain geographical areas and institutions which were considered the axes of development".

Sahli S. (1981) "The phenomenon of Marginalisation in Underdeveloped Rural Communities" in Third World Quarterly 3(3) p. 489

54. Scherz-Garcia L. (1967) "Some dysfunctional aspects of International Assistance and the Role of the University in Social Change" in International Social Science Journal p. 392.

55. *ibid* p. 399.

56. Lloyd suggests that the lack of integration of marginal groups can be portrayed in a number of ways. Thus,

Socially the marginals are disorganised. Their organization differs from that of the dominant culture. They retain customs appropriate to the traditional culture. They do not share all customs. They do not participate in social services. Economically, the marginals are not producers in dominant sectors, although they produce for other marginals.

It is proposed to test this assertion, in the following manner. The criteria identified by Lloyd provide a useful starting point. If it is assumed that the Indian Institutes of Management represents the "dominant" culture in post-graduate management education in Indian today, then an analysis of how the organization of the Calcutta University management school, differs from the organization of the IIMC is an important point to take into account. The autonomous organization, of the IIMC, is clearly not replicated in the 'marginal' institution.

These limitations require further elaboration. The culture of the marginal institution, it is suggested is naturally more closely linked to the traditional University culture of India of which it is a part. An interesting question further posed by Lloyd's criteria is whether the Calcutta University business school like its elite counterpart indulges in 'social services', like consultancy or other extension activities. Economically, the question concerns the future placement of their graduates, as to whether they are absorbed into the job-market as easily as their peers in the IIMC ? Further the attitudes of faculty members of this Institute, its resources in terms of numbers, structure and organization of courses and other facilities will provide insight into the relative degree marginalization being faced by the Institute. Finally, the extent to which the relatively impoverished condition of the IISWBM can be directly related to the processes of marginalization by the IIMC will also be examined.

Lloyd P.C. (1980) op. cit.

57. Holmes B. (1981) Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Method , George Allen and Unwin Publisher Ltd. London. p. 95.
58. Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, (1982) Brochure p.4.
59. Indian Institute of Management Calcutta, (1981) Catalogue p. 26.
60. Commonwealth Yearbook (1984) p. 1494.
61. Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, (1982) Brochure p.2.
62. *ibid.*
63. *ibid.*
64. Figures computed from Handbook of Management Education (1982) Published by the Association of Indian Universities p. 20.

65. Interview held with IIMC faculty members in April 1983 at Calcutta.
66. Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management (1982) Brochure p.2.
67. *ibid* p.4
68. *ibid* p.4 & 7.
69. *ibid* p.4.
70. Indian Institute of Social Welfare Business Management Regulations for Examination for the Degree of MBA p.1.
71. Indian Institute of Management Calcutta (1981) Catalogue Post Graduate Programme p. 26.
72. Dore R. (1976) "The Diploma Disease" Allen and Unwin. London.
73. This was a point made by the Head of the Management Department at the Indian Institute of Social Welfare Business Management to the Investigator in a personal Interview held at Calcutta in April (1983).
74. Lloyd P.C. (1980) *op. cit.*
75. Introduction to the Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management (1978) p.1.
76. *ibid.*
77. Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management (1982) Brochure p. 13

78. The official regulations of the Government of India stipulate a minimum of staff which includes 3 Professors, 4 Readers, and 6 Lecturers and a placement officer with necessary clerical support.
79. Lloyd P.C. (1980) op.cit.
80. Indian Institute of Social Welfare Business Management (1982), Brochure p. 13.
81. IIMC Annual Report (1983-84) pp. 59-62.
82. This was also a strategy employed by the IIMC in the early years when an adequate number of full time faculty members trained in the functional areas of management could not be found.
83. Singh K.K. (1972) 'Management Development in India' in ASCI Journal of Management 1 (2) pp. 18 & 19.
84. Nanda G.L. (1981) op. cit. p. 110.
85. Indian Institute of Social Welfare Business Management (1982) Brochure p. 1
86. Personal Interview held at Calcutta in April 1983.
87. Hill et. al (1973) A Study of International Collaboration in Management Education Institution Building in India, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration. Boston p. 19.
88. Correspondence located in file PA 60-6, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
89. Interview with IIMC faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.

90. ibid

91. Chandiramani G.K. (1965)"Coordination and Future Development" in Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on Management Training and Development ASCI Hyderabad p. 8.

92. Who incidentally was also a member of the Ford Foundation sponsored "Indian Management Education Study Team" which had recommended the upgrading of university based courses rather than the setting up of separate institutions.

Sanyal D.K. (1965) "Factual paper contributed on behalf of Indian Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management" Calcutta. Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on Management Training and Development ASCI Hyderabad p.5

93. ibid

94. Ensminger D. (1965) Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on Management Training and Development ASCI, Hyderabad p.2

95. Ensminger D. (1972) "The Ford Foundation's Interest and Involvement in Indian Education". Ensminger Oral History B.23, p.17.

96. This low opinion of the contribution which universities could make to Management Education was further reinforced by other commentators on the sence,

For example W.D. Bryden, Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and industry of India remarked, "Under present circumstances the contribution which can be made by the universities to this complex and specialised subject is slight".

W.D. Bryden (1965) Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on Management Training and Development ASCI Hyderabad p.4.

97. Summary of the speech of Dr. Vikram Sarabhai (1965) in Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on Management Training and Development ASCI Hyderabad p. 4.

98. Agarwala A.N. (1971) "Pre-experience Training in Management in India", in ASCI Journal of Management 1 (2) p. 57.
99. Interview held with IIMC faculty members in April 1983 at Calcutta.
100. *ibid.*
101. Nanda G.L. (1981) *op.cit* p. 108.
102. *ibid*
103. A significant point to note in this connection is that the IIMC's sister institution, the IIMA, has overcome this handicap through special permission from the Government of India. Even this effort has not been made in the case of the IIMC.
104. Galtung J. (1980), The North/South Debate : Technology, Basic Human needs and the NIEO, Working paper no. 12 world Order Model Project Institute for World Order New York.
105. See Appendix.X
106. Interview with the IIMC faculty member herein referred to as Professor A held at Calcutta in April 1983.
107. Interview with IIMC faculty member held at Calcutta in April 1983.
108. *ibid.*
109. Interview with Mr Hiten Bhaya held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
110. Interview with IIMC faculty member in April 1983 at Calcutta.

111. *ibid.*
112. *ibid.*
113. *ibid*
114. Interview with Professor R.P. Aiyar held at Calcutta in April 1983.
115. Interview with IIMC faculty member held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
116. *ibid*
117. Proposed Plan of Development for IIMC, file PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York, p.6.
118. Evidence obtained from Ford Foundation File PA 62-520, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
119. Ganesh S.R. (1977) Processes of Institution Building : A Comparative Study of Indian Management Education Institutions Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of London pp 151-152.
120. *ibid*
121. The unstable political situation at the time, which culminated in the victory of the Left-front Government in the State assembly of West Bengal was viewed with great apprehension by some faculty members.
122. The rapidly changing leadership situation at the IIMC has been discussed in greater detail in the section on Administration.

123. Of course the administrative structure was also based upon the metropolitan model though over the period of years it has substantially altered from the manner prescribed by Robbins and the first plan of development prepared by the MIT collaborators.
124. The active participation of MIT technical assistants in Academic Administration is indicated in that for the first three years the MIT Project leader and the Director remained cosignatories to all important documents. Evidence found in PA 62-520. Ford Foundation Archives. New York.
125. While intrinsically this decision making system was a valuable departure from the traditional line authority structures of the Indian university, in the absence of effective leadership to play a coordinating role considerable administrative confusion resulted. Authority patterns were unclear, role demarcation could not take place and considerable overlapping of responsibility as related to Academic administration took place.
126. Interview with IIMC Faculty member herein referred to as Professor A held at Calcutta in April 1983.
127. *ibid*
128. Galtung (1980) *op. cit.*
129. The point is well made by Chossudovsky,
It is indeed in the framework of the underlying political and economic interests of neocolonialism that research on poor countries has developed. In other words, theories formulae, quantitative techniques and explanations of causality are often remedies based on the implicit interests of the rich nations in alliance with the dependent bourgeoisie and ruling elites in poor countries. Research activity is socially and politically conditioned by the mechanics of economic and political dependence.

Chossudovsky M. (1977) "Dependence and Transfer of intellectual Technology" The Case of Social Sciences" in Economic and Political Weekly p. 1579.

130. Altbach P.G. (1981) "The University as Centre and Periphery" Teachers College Record p. 601.
131. Arora S.K. (1970) "On Acquisition of Political Legitimacy" in Economic and Political Weekly 4 (3,4 & 5)
132. Padaki V. (1981) "Management Movement in India", Towards a Critical History, in Economic and Political Weekly XVI (35) p. M-94.
133. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.61.
134. Interview with IIMC faculty members held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
135. See analysis on Publication in Part III pp. 168 - 172
136. The data in the following analysis has been collected from the Annual Reports (1979-1984) of the IIMC.
137. IIMC Annual Report (1979-80) p. 13.
138. Padaki V. (1981) op.cit p. M94.
139. IIMC Tenth Anniversary (1961-71) p. 10.
140. Interview with Fellowship Programme Chairman of Indian Institute of Management Calcutta held in 1983 at Calcutta.
141. IIMC Annual Report (1983-84) p.5 & 33.
142. Interview with IIMC Faculty members in April 1983 at Calcutta.
143. Nanda G.L. (1981) op.cit p.41.

144. Interview with IIMC Faculty member held in April 1983 at Calcutta.
145. Interview with Fellowship Programme Chairman of IIMC held in 1983 at Calcutta.
146. See for example a) Robbins G. (1959) Recommendations for an All India Institute of Management, New Delhi, Ford Foundation file PA 60-6, Ford Foundation Archives, New York p. 19 b) Proposed Plan of Development IIMC, p. 16.
147. Such projects were funded either by the internal resources of the Institute or external sponsoring bodies. Tenth Anniversary Report (1961-71) IIMC Calcutta.
148. *ibid* p. 46.
149. Correspondence located in Ford Foundation Files PA 62-520, PA 73-191, PA 75-492.

As revealed by the internal correspondence of the Foundation officers in both India and the USA, the Foundation remained in this period fairly liberal in its grant allocations to these research centres, while drawing the reins lightly over other requests of the IIMC which included support for general institutional development and a computer. It is also of significance to note that at least three of the research centres established in this period were in areas of interest being promoted by the Foundation in the USA, as well as other developing countries.

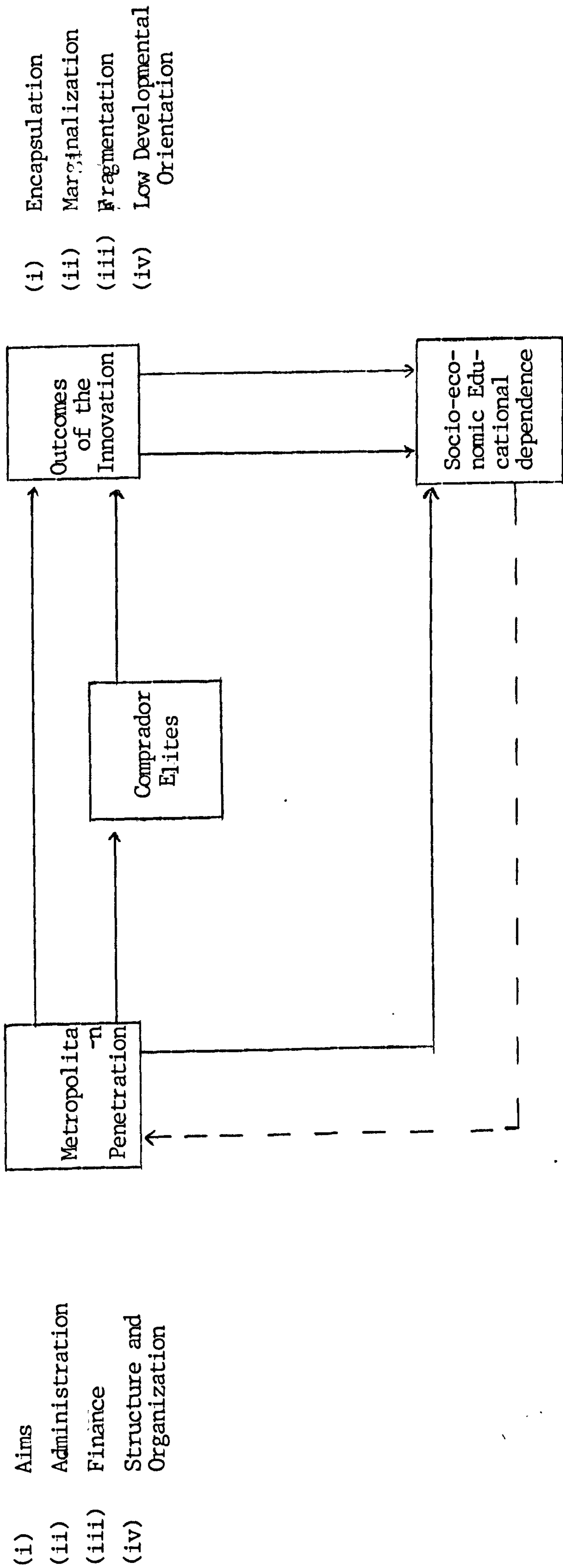
150. Memorandum from Kamla Chowdhry to the Files dated January 10, 1976 Ford Foundation file PA 70-191, Ford Foundation Archives, New York.
151. See pp. 50 - 53
152. Personal Interview with IIMC faculty members held at Calcutta in April 1983.
153. *ibid*.
154. Padaki V. (1981) *op.cit*, p. M-94.

NOTES FOR PART V

1. Spitzberg I.J. (1980) (ed) Universities and the International Distribution of Knowledge. Praeger, New York p.21
2. Coleman J.S. (1981) "The Idea of the Developmental University". Paper presented at Council for International Development Studies Institute for Educational Research University of Oslo. 24-26 Sept. 1981.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I



Model of Educational Dependency



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA

APPENDIX II

College of Agriculture

Department of Rural Sociology

231 Gentry Hall
Columbia, Missouri 65201
Telephone (314) 882-7558

April 12, 1984

Ms Neelu Sancheti
17. Woburn Square
London WC-1
ENGLAND

Dear Neelu Sancheti:

Please excuse my delay in responding to your letter of January, 1984. I will do my best to answer your question as to why the Indian Management Institutes have not been given degree granting status.

During my very early discussions with the Indian Planning Commission regarding the location of the IIMS, it was the assumption that they would be within Indian Universities. In my early discussions with both the Calcutta and Bombay Universities, I concluded that if the IIMS were developed within the universities, they would be poorly staffed and denied opportunities for the faculty to interact with industry as consultants. The decision was made by me, and supported by the Planning Commission, to develop the IIMS outside the universities.

Granted, it would be good if the IIMS were recognized as having university status. However, I see little evidence to support the conclusion that graduates and faculty are not widely accepted by the Indian business community as being of high quality.

I hope I have answered your question adequately.

Sincerely,


Douglas Ensminger
Professor Emeritus

/rd

APPENDIX III

FORMAL ORGANISATIONAL MODEL

PUBLIC INTEREST
MANAGERIAL
TECHNICAL

ASSERTIONS

- (1) WITHIN ORGANISATIONS There is interaction (individuals, groups) between levels both downwards and upwards.
- (2) BETWEEN ORGANISATIONS There is interaction (individuals, groups) between the three organisations (by level).
- (3) ORGANISATION AND OTHER SUB-SYSTEMS There is interaction (individuals, groups) between any of the organisations (by level) and organisations, groups, individuals in other social sub-systems.

(Holmes, 1975, p52)

APPENDIX IV

Board of Governors

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Director

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|

|

|

|

Senior Professor

Senior Professor

|

|

(Educational Programs) (Executive Development) | Director of Research

|

|

|

|

|

|

|

|

Librarian

|

| Administrator

Internal Organization Chart of the IIMC as proposed at the time
of establishment

Proposed Plan of Development

ADMINISTRATION:



APPENDIX VI

FACULTY QUESTIONNAIRE

NEELU SANCHETI
12, OLD POST OFFICE STREET,
CALCUTTA - 700 001.
TEL. NO. 45-2780
23-2042

February, 1983.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would like to introduce myself as Mrs Neelu Sancheti, enrolled at present as a Doctoral Candidate in the University of London Institute of Education under the supervision of Professor Brian Holmes.

My Research Project is designed to study the process of Institutionalization of Management Education in India. I am particularly interested in knowing something about the way in which the Indian Institute of Management in India. I am also interested in examining the influence of the IIMC on University based Management Courses in Calcutta.

The Director of the IIMC, Professor R.Aiyar has given me permission to carry out this research. I hope you will help me to complete this Project successfully by responding to the following questions and requests.

1. Kindly fill in the attached questionnaire regarding your Academic Qualifications and Management Experience.
2. I would be grateful if you could arrange to see me for a period of approximately one hour in order that I may ask you some questions concerning particular aspects of Management Education in India.

I apologise for the inconvenience this may cause you. Kindly be assured that all information furnished by you will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for academic purposes only.

Thanking you,

Yours Sincerely,

(Neelu Sancheti)

Name :

Age :

Address :

Tel. No. :

Designation :

Field of Specialisation :

SECTION - 1

Question about your background and experience in technical/management education and training.

1. Academic Background - Please give the following information about your formal education in a chronological order starting from High School onwards.*

No.	Degree/Diploma	Subject/Area of Specialisation	Institution
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

2. Please give information about the Management Training Programme (s) of longer than one week's duration attended by you so far either here or abroad. Academic programmes such as MBA course should be included.

No.	Title of programme	By whom offered	What year	Duration	Description
-----	--------------------	-----------------	-----------	----------	-------------

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

3. Please give information about prior experience in Teaching

No.	Name of Institution	Place	Full/Part Time	Duration	Area of Specialisation
I.					
II.					
III.					
IV.					
V.					

4. Please give information about previous experience in industry

No.	Name of Organisation	Duration	Description
I.			
II.			
III.			
IV.			
V.			

5. Please give information regarding Articles/Books published by you

Articles

No.	Name of Article	Journal in which published	Year	Place of Publication
I.				
II.				
III.				
IV.				
V.				

Books

No.	Name	Year	Place of Publication
I.			
II.			
III.			
IV.			
V.			

6. Please give information about any major professional Conferences attended by you in India or abroad

No.	Title of Conference	Venue	What year	Title of paper Presented, if any
I.				
II.				
III.				
IV.				
V.				

7. Please give information regarding Consultancy Projects undertaken

No.	Name of Organisation	Duration	Description
I.			
II.			
III.			
IV.			
V.			

APPENDIX VII

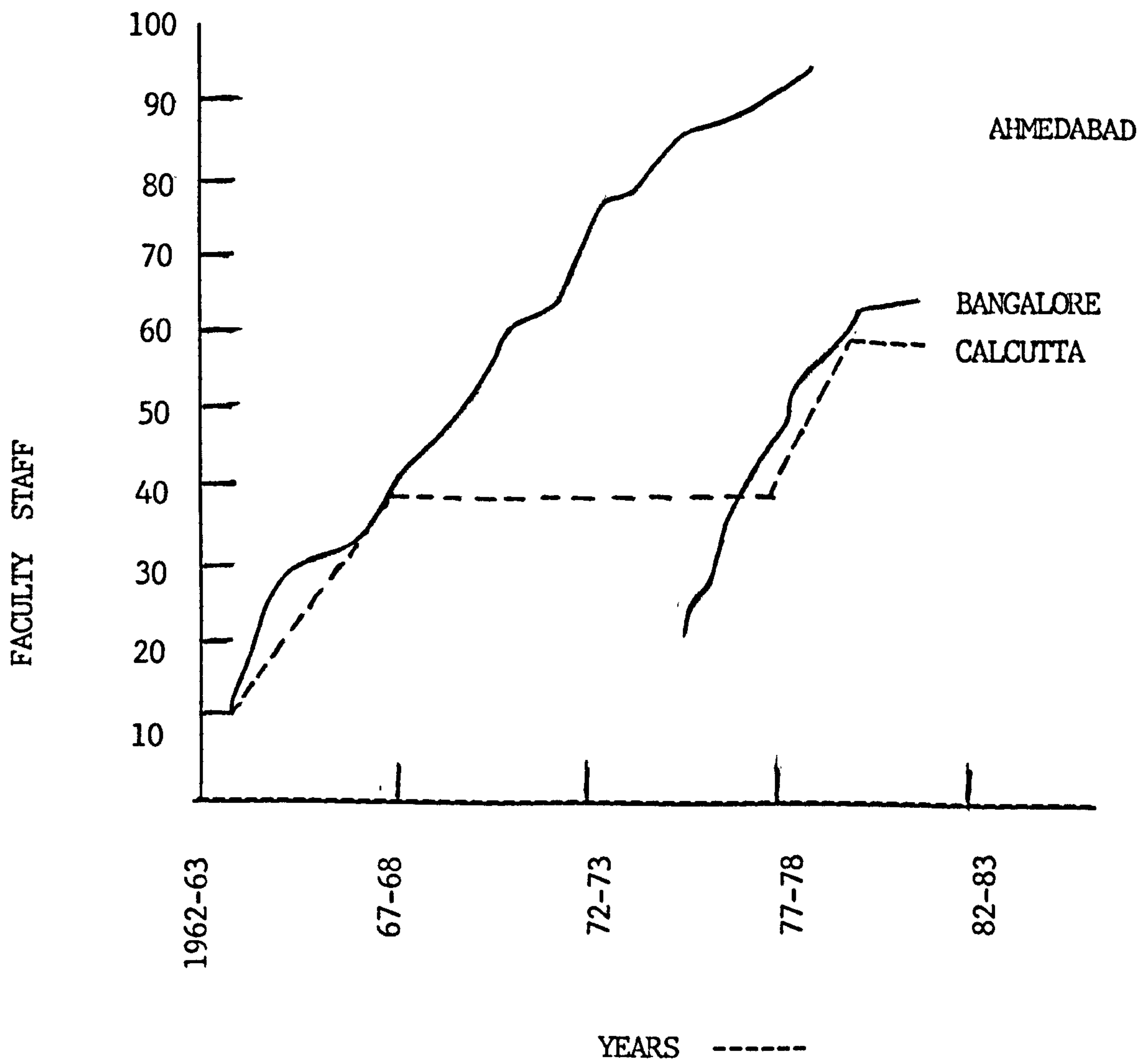


FIG. 2.1 GROWTH OF FACULTY

(SOURCE : Nanda Committee Report).

NAME	SUBJECT	QUALIFICATION	FORD FOUNDATION GRANT		Purpose
			Year	Amount	
Kamini Adhikari (Mrs)	Sociology	M.A., M.S.S.(the Hague) Ph.D. (Lucknow)			
Madhu S. Mishra	Sociology	M.A., M.Litt, Ph.D., DSE (Delhi)			
Surendra Munshi	Sociology	M.A.(Sociology)(Agra) De. Soz.Wiss(Bielefeld)			
Ashok P. Arora	Marketing	M.Sc.Fellow in Management (Ahmedabad)			
K. C. Bothra	Marketing	L.L.B.(Cal), (PGDM)(IIMC)	1975		U.S.A.
Manas Kr. Das	Marketing	M.Stat (ISI)			
Sudas Roy	Marketing	PGDM (IIMC)	1975		Illinois
V. Nagi Reddy	Econometrics	M.Stat, Ph.D. (ISI)			
M. N. Pal	Operations and Management and Management informa- tion systems.	M.M.E.(Jadavpur),Fellow in Management (IIMC), Ph.D.(Engg.) Cal.			

NAME	SUBJECT	QUALIFICATION	FORD FOUNDATION GRANT	Year	Amount	Purpose
Amitava Bose	Economics	M.A.Ph.D.(Rochester)				
N. K. Chandra	Economics	M.Sc.(Econ)Ph.D.(London)				
Ranjit K. Samal	Economics	M.A.(Jadavpur) Ph. D. (Wayne State)				
Alok Ray	Economics	M.A. Ph.D. (Rochester)				
Deepak Nayyar	Economics	M.A.B. Phil. (Oxford)				
K.K.Bhattacharya	Finance & Accounting	M. Com.(Cal)A.C.A.(Delhi)				
S. K. Chakraborty	Finance & Accounting	M.Com.(Cal) PH.D. (Liver Pool) AICWA				
Bimalendu De.	Finance					
Syamal K. Ghosh	Finance & Accounting	M.Com,(Cal) AMBIM(London) IIMIM Inst., AM (Kent), Ph. D. (Iowa)		1976 1975	\$ 2,000	Doctoral Research USA U.K.
Brojoraj Mohanty	Finance & Control	M.Com.,Fellow in Management (IIMA)				
N. K. Rao	Finance & Control	M.A., M.Sc. (Andhra)				
Prodyot K. Sen	Finance & Control	B.Tech.(IIT) PGDM(IIMC)				

NAME	SUBJECT	QUALIFICATION	FORD FOUNDATION GRANT		
			Year	Amount	Purpose
V. Anand Ram	Behavioural Sciences	M.B.A.Fellow in Management (IIMA)			
Dilip K. Lahiri	Behavioural Sciences	M.Sc., (Cal)	1975		U.S.A.
Bharatendu N. Srivastava	Behavioural Sciences	Ph.D. (IIT Kanpur)			
Anil K. Sengupta	Social Anthropology	M.Sc. Ph.D.(Cal)	1975		U. K.
Krishna Swaminathan	Social Psychology	M. A., L.L.B. Ph. D. (Michigan)			
Manish C. Bhattacharji	Statistics and Operations Research	M.Sc.(Cal) Ph.D.(Berkely, California)	1975		Canada
Kalyan Dutta	Statistics and Operations Research	M. Sc.(Cal) Ph.D.(North Carolina)			
Chandan K. Mustafi	Statistics,Mathametical programming & Application of operations Research & Techniques in Finance & Marketing	M. Sc.(Cal) Ph.D.(Columbia)			
A. K. Chaudhri	Operations Research & Production Management	M.Sc., D.Sc. (Cal.)			
Ranjan Ghosh	Operations Management	M.Sc., (Stanford, M.S., Sc. D. (Columbia)			

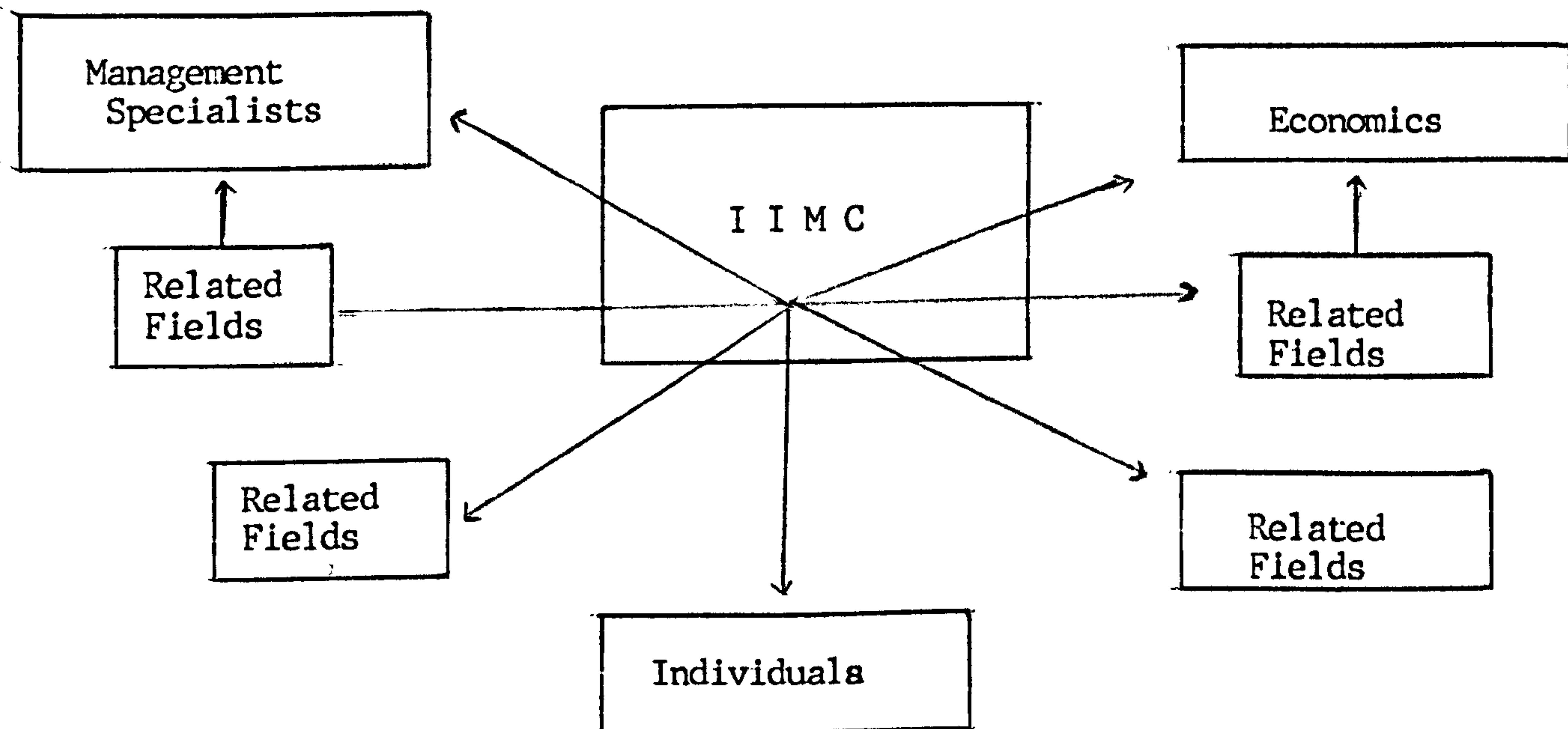
NAME	SUBJECT	QUALIFICATION	FORD FOUNDATION GRANT		
			Year	Amount	Purpose
Bani K. Sinha	Operations Research	M.Sc.(Delhi) Ph.D. (Pennsylvania)	1977	\$ 5,000	
B.R.K. Kashyap	Operations Research & Production Management	M.A.(Punjab), Ph.D. Jodhpur	1975		Canada
Ramaswamy P. Aiyar	Industrial Engineering & Management	Engg.(B.H.U.), M.Sc., Ph. D. (Loughborough)	1975		U.S.A.
Amit Jyoti Sen	Organisational Behaviour & Management Education	B.A. (Cambridge) Ph.D. (MIT)			
Krishna C. Sethi	Personal, Industrial Relations, Worker's Participation in Mana- gement and Organisation	M.A. (Delhi) D.Sc.(Zagreb)	1976	\$ 600	Visit Abroad London, Belg- rade, Geneva.
Sujit K. Basu	Probability & Statistics	Ph.D. (North Carolina)			
Asit K. Bose	Law	M.A. L.L.M. Ph.D. (Cal)			
Saila K. Ghosh	Political Science	M.A. Ph.D. (Cal)			
Subratesh Ghosh	Labour Economics, Man- power Planning & Studiew in Small Indu- stries	M.A. Econ. D. Phill, (Cal)			
Pradeep Srimani	Computer Science	M. Tech. Ph.D.			

NAME	SUBJECT	QUALIFICATION	FORD FOUNDATION GRANT		
			Year	Amount	Purpose
Bappaditya Chakraborty	Regional Development	B.Sc. Hons. PGDM Fellow in Management (IIMC)			
Satyesh C. Chakraborty	Economics Geography, Urbanization & Regional Development	Ph.D. (London School of Econ. & Pol. Science)			
Gouranga P. Chattopadhyaya	Group Dynamics, Organi- sational Development, Behavioural Sciences	M.Sc. D.Phil (Cal) F. R. A. I. (London)			
Ashok K. Agarwal	Management information Systems	B.E.(Pilani), M.Sc., Ph.D. (Minnesota)	1975		U.S.A.
Amitava Bagchi	Computer Science and Management information systems	M. Tech. (Cal) Sc. D. (MIT)			
Binod Kumar	Organisational Behavi- our Psychology & Public Management	M.A.(Patna) Ed.d. (North Illinois)			
Jacob Mankidy	Personal Management & Industrial Relations	P.G.D.I.R., Ph.D. (Bombay) MLIR (Michigan)			

GRADUATE PLACEMENT AT THE IIMC

PGDM GRADUATE PLACEMENT	S E C T O R S												
	Public					Private					Total		
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1979	1980	1981
	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1983	1982	1981
PERMANENT PLACEMENT	7	12	12	5	22	90	73	96	70	80	99	85	108
PERCENTAGE	7.1	14.5	11.1	6.6	21.5	90.9	85.9	88.9	93.4	78.5	100	100	100

APPENDIX X



An Ideal Model of a Well - integrated institution

APPENDIX XI

FACULTY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NEELU SANCHETI
12, OLD POST OFFICE STREET,
CALCUTTA - 700 001.
TEL. NO. 45-2780
23-2042

(1) AIMS & OBJECTIVES

- (1.1) Please state the objectives of the IIMC as you understand them.
- (1.2) The official objectives of the IIMC are
 - (a) Training of executives already employed, future managers and management teachers.
 - (b) Research and development of indigenous management literature.
- (1.3) Are you in full agreement with these objectives ?
- (1.4) In what specific ways would you like the IIMC to reformulate its objectives ?

(2) INSTITUTIONAL STATUS

- (2.1) In your opinion is the macro- frame-work of Management Education in India satisfactory ?
- (2.2) In your opinion, has the constitution of the IIMC as an Autonomous society increased its innovative capacity ?
- (2.3) Has such independence from University structures allowed the IIMC to maintain a higher quality of training programmes and output ?
- (2.4) Has this organizational structure proved beneficial in terms of the research and development efforts undertaken at the IIMC ?

(2.5) How seriously, in your opinion has the absence of degree granting status proved detrimental to the development of the IIMC ?

(2.6) Do you agree with the popular recommendation that all future development of Management Education must take place within existing University structures ?

(3) INTERNAL ORGANISATION

(3.1) How far are patterns of decision - making based on the MIT model ?

(3.2) How far did the MIT model taking into account heirarchical decision making systems prevalent in the traditional Indian University ?

(3.3) What has been the major reason for the rapid change in Directors over the past few years ?

(3.4) To what extent were attempts at innovative American style administrative structures successful ?

(3.5) What changes would you propose in existing administrative patterns ?

(4) FINANCE

(4.1) How do you evaluate the 'benefactor' role of the Ford Foundation ?

- (4.2) Do you agree with Hill et.al. (1968) that
- (i) The Ford Foundation did not try to impose the value-judgements of its personnel.
 - (ii) Remained well in the background.
- (4.3) Would you agree, that even though the Ford Foundation had played an important role as promotional agent, effectively most major decisions were taken by the Indians and eventually the Foundation became just a financier ?
- (4.4) Did the faculty perceive Ford Foundation's policy of helping the IIMC only by permission of "specified foreign affiliates" i.e. the SSM at MIT as "subordinating Indian wards to American Guardians.
- (4.5) How crucial is the funding role of the Ford Foundation to the present functioning of the IIMC ?
- (4.6) To what extent have local business enterprises helped to meet financial requirements of the IIMC ?
- (4.7) Has favourable financial position and institutional facilities been a special advantage for the IIMC ?
- (4.8) Is large investment in IIMC in contrast to relatively low investment in University based Management Education justifiable ? If so on what grounds ?

(5) STRUCTURE & ORGANIZATION

- (5.1) To what extent does the structure and organization of the IIMC continue to be based on the Organisational style of the Sloan School of Management at MIT ?
- (5.2) To what extent were difficulties in transfer of organisational styles anticipated ?

Academic Activities

- * (5.3) Do you regard the mix of output - consultancy services, training courses - post graduate programme and Ph.D. programme, research and writing as satisfactory - if not, why ?
- (5.4) Do you regard the mix of research and teaching activity, text book writing, case collection, project research, scholarly publications - as satisfactory, if not how you would like it changed ?
- (5.5) Has IIMC involvement in extension programmes been beneficial to the indigenous research and development objectives of the IIMC ?
- (5.6) What are the criteria used to determine the acceptability of a consultancy programme ?
- (5.7) In your opinion, what opportunities for professional growth and development are provided by consultancy programmes ?
- (5.8) In what specific ways would you like to see a change in IIMC policy as regards consultancy services and extension programmes ?

Curriculum

- (5.9) Do you consider technology and management techniques to be value free and therefore universally applicable ?
- (5.10) Are the tools of management for different sectors basically similar and can the different needs be easily met by variation in the 'mix of courses' ?
- (5.11) How important are the initial specific ^{*} conditions in determining the effectiveness of management techniques ?
- (5.12) To what extent is the Post graduate programme curriculum too theoretical and therefore of limited practical use to the newly qualified graduate ?

- (5.13) Do you agree with the criticism that "painstaking primary efforts have been ignored due to the easy availability of imported alternates" ? If not, why ?
- (5.14) Do the teaching materials and courses reflect an American orientation, which favours private enterprises and initiative ?
- (5.15) What success has been achieved in the adaptation of Western management techniques to suit conditions of Indian business and industry at the levels of :
- (a) Western Oriented Private Enterprise or MNC's
 - (b) Public Enterprise
 - (c) Indian Private Enterprise

Teaching Methods

- (5.16) In your opinion, which 'mix' of teaching methods would you consider most appropriate in reaching IIMC objectives ?
- (5.17) Do you consider the pedagogical approaches so far used "a some what mechanistic carryover" from the MIT or are they well-suited to the IIMC's objectives ?
- (5.18) To what extent has the IIMC deviated from the SSM at MIT model in relation to teaching methods used ?
- (5.19) To what extent are sophisticated quantitative analyses and "management games" viable, given the environmental constraints in terms of resources and learner attitudes in the Indian situation.
- (5.20) To what extent are these techniques appropriate in preparing the graduate for his future work note ?
- (5.21) In your experience, to what extent have students been able to usefully employ management techniques learnt at the IIMC at
- (i) Summer Assignments
 - (ii) Future Jobs
- (5.22) How can teaching methods, at the IIMC be improved to meet institutional objectives ?

(6) FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

- (6.1) In your opinion, how far has the IIMC succeeded in its faculty development objective for
- (a) IIM's
 - (b) University based management courses
- (6.2) To what extent would you agree with the suggestion that IIMC's policy of utilising local talent as well as recruiting from other sources has prevented it from developing an institutional culture of its own ?
- (6.3) In what ways has this policy of utilising local expertise been fruitful ?
- (6.4) How would you evaluate IIMC's policy for faculty-recruitment?
- (6.5) What modifications would you suggest in the present faculty recruitment and development policies ?

(7) COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

- (7.1) What insitutional linkages exist between the IIMC & the MIT today ?
- (7.2) Do you believe that "the association with the SSM at MIT enhanced the prestige of the project and provided a strong sense of direction" to the institutionalization of the IIMC ?
- (7.3) In what important respects has such association been detrimental ?
- (7.4) In your opinion, would further research on the transferability of the MIT model to Calcutta, prior to establishment of the IIMC, have helped to resolve some of the subsequent problems.
- (7.5) Do the efforts of the IIM's to move away from their foreign models, genuinely relate to goals of development ? For example IIMA's involvement in Agricultural development or the shifting emphasis to the Public-Sector.

(8) EXTERNAL LINKAGES

- * (8.1) Do you regard institutional relationships with Government and business as generally satisfactory ? If not, what relationships appear to you as unsatisfactory ?
- * (8.2) Have external political and/or social factors adversely affected institutional development ? If so, in what way ?
- * (8.3) Are present relationships with other educational Institutions satisfactory ? If not, in what respects are these unsatisfactory ?
- * (8.4) Do you feel that your institution has significantly influenced any other educational institutions ? If so, what is the evidence of such influence ?

(9) GENERAL EVALUATION

- * (9.1) What do you see as the major factors contributing positively to the development of your institution ?
- * (9.2) What do you see as the major impediments or handicaps ?
- * (9.3) What do you see as the major problems now facing the institution ?
- * (9.4) Please comment on any point not covered by the foregoing questions which you believe to be important and relevant to this study.

The questions marked by an asterik have been taken from Hill et.al (1973) pp. 295 - 298.

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